Mbeomo E-4 (1965-1969) 1994 F'93 Ngoni F'93
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lived with their wives and children, and not all of which had royal headmen. The system of 'female' disappeared, at least in the Ngoni group with which we are most concerned, and within their regiments men were grouped in terms of their place in the matrimonial system.

3. *Foundation of the State*

The Ngoni chiefdoms of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were, according to all accounts, comparatively small. There were many of them and they were unstable. After about 1725 the pattern of political alignments began to alter and larger states appeared. By 1800 three kingdoms, the Mbelebeles, Ndaundwes and Qwaqwa,* dominated the east and in 1818 Zwide, king of the Ndaundwes, whose territory was in what is now northern Zululand, killed the Mbelebeles king. He then turned his attention to Shaka, an Mbelebeles by political affiliation who had conquered his kinsmen the Qwaqwa and had become the effective leader of the Mbelebeles kingdom. Unfortunately for Zwide, he was defeated in 1819 by Shaka and thereupon the Ndaundwes kingdom broke up. Some segments became part of Shaka's expanding State, others moved off to the north. About 1821* Zwangendaba, who had been for a time a sub-chief of Zwide, led a party of refugees northwestwards into the region of Delagoa Bay. The route probably taken by Zwangendaba and his followers, and by other Ngoni groups, is shown in Map A. Near Delagoa Bay Zwangendaba found Soshangane, a chief formerly loyal to Zwide,* fighting with Nxaba, another minor chief, both of them refugees like Zwangendaba from the rising power of Shaka. All three parties raided the indigenous Tsonga people and made captives fight alongside their new masters.

Zwangendaba quarrelled with Soshangane and moved on further north. He took with him his new Tsonga followers and also some small groups of Swazi and related peoples who had fled independently from Shaka and who now placed themselves under

* I do not claim any consistency in my spelling of indigenous names and other words. As far as possible I have endeavoured to follow Ashton, 'Spelling Sesotho'. However I have written the unaspirated post-alveolar affricative in its old form *tl* wherever the new form *c* might be confused with the medial dental click consonant represented by *c* in Zulu.

* cf. Bryant, Olden times, p. 459. He is followed by Poole, Native tribes, pp. 5, 13, 71. Lawrence, 'Chronology', pp. 77, 84, gives 1819 and Wilmsen, 'Historical', p. 13, has 1819 or 1820. Young, History, p. 109, and Chidyausiku, My people, p. 6, both have 1819. Boggie, South Eastern Rhodesia, p. 272, says Zwangendaba left in 1819, while Cracknell, Native tribes, p. 101, says he left in the 1830's.

* For the exact relationship between Soshangane and Zwide, see Bryant, Olden times, pp. 161, 279, 434.

[Text continues on page 9]

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Map A. NGONI MIGRATIONS 1821-1898

[p. 9]

1:Bevers E-5 (1966-1969) 1954 F25 Nguni F25
Migrevent

his brothership, or who may have been part of his following before the migrations began.[1]

The people led by Zwangendaba called themselves Ngoni, a name derived from Nguni, a term of admiration (*isiduko*) common to many agnatic clans in Natal. The tribes with whom the Ngoni fought collected as them by a wide variety of names and it is under these that they appear in the early literature. They were known as *Angoni, Amangwidi, Bangoni, Barwa, Barwe, Bunga, Landowe, Landzwe, Maclwedi, Mafiti, Mahlito, Magwangwara, Makwangara,*

Table I. Leaders of Ngoni of the 1820's

Shaka	Effective head of the Mthethwa kingdom and founder of the Zulu empire.
Zwide	Ndwandwe king, defeated by Shaka.
Sokangqane	A classificatory younger brother of Zwide.
Zwangendaba	Independent minor chief, sometime ally of Zwide.
Mzilikazi	Originally independent leader who became one of Shaka's generals and later fled from him.
Nxaba	Independent minor chief who fled from Shaka.

Mangwe, Mangwangwara, Manito, Maviti, Mavito, Mazite, Mazito, Mbunga, Mdzedzewe, Rugaruga, Sizyamu, Wangwe, Wajoju, Wamanbanda, Wamanbate, Wangoni, Wapoma, Watuta, Zulu and *Zulu Kaffirs.*[2] Some of these names they shared with other tribes and bands of brigands.

4. *The residential system*

The Ngoni men and women who made up the core of Zwangendaba's following were grouped together in agnatic lineages and in age-sets. Their captives were absorbed into this social structure, and in the process the structure was inevitably altered to conform to the peculiar features of Ngoni life. The heads of the various distinct lineages under Zwangendaba, or at least some of them, became known as *regional governors*[3] and their lineages became

[1] Bryant, *Olden times*, pp. 138-71, 204-16; Chilembo, *My Ngoni*, pp. 7-11.
[2] Ian Tow, *Lake Nyasa*, p. 95.
[3] *Mdabenyama*, pl. *dabenyama*. cf. Zulu, *umnumzane*, village headman; also Read, "Tradition", p. 460.

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Mpezeni

part of the segment, namely segments 2, 3 and 13, survived as independent inferior segments within segment 1. The lieutenant in charge of the warriors spared the pregnant queen and let her. She bore a son, Nyasa Mpezeni, and later was drawn to Zwangendaba who received her kindly and, according to Chibambo, ordered her to live with her son in the headquarters of segment 1. She was put in charge of a levy of wives, and so by this time the great wife was dead, the levy in segment 3 now became Zwangendaba's senior levy. Mwenebeya, eldest son of the leader of this levy, was thus a candidate for the main kingship but owing to the disappearance of segment 18 and the subsequent reconciliation between Zwangendaba and Mpezeni's mother, the relative status of the two sons was uncertain. This uncertainty may have been one of the precipitating causes in the subsequent break-up of the State.

Ranger[ley]'s version of this incident is that after he had been shown Mpezeni, Zwangendaba ordered the headquarters of segment 18 to be rebuilt. This seems less likely to be true than the version we have followed, since there is, so far as I know, no present-day village which we can identify as the headquarters of this segment.[a]

From Delagoa Bay, Zwangendaba went up the Limpopo Valley into Matebeleland. He fought with Kalanga and other Shona peoples and there was renewed fighting with other refugee groups under Soshangane and Nxaba. In 1833 Zwangendaba's group crossed over to the north side of the River Zambesi near Zumbo and settled in Nsenga country for four years. They moved on again along the eastern rim of the Luangwa basin and eventually arrived in about 1840 in Ufipa, on the east side of Lake Tanganyika. Here in about 1843 Zwangendaba died.

Two points of historical detail may be mentioned here. There is reliable evidence for a raid made on a Portuguese fort at Delagoa Bay on 10 October 1833 by some of Soshangane's people.[b] Poole and Wesselmann state explicitly that Zwangendaba's men also took part in this attack, and Lancaster seems to imply the same. According to the chronology adopted by Young and by Poole himself Zwangendaba was at this time four hundred and fifty miles away in the Kalanga country of Southern Rhodesia and is therefore seems unlikely, though not impossible, that he participated in this raid. Elmslie, Young and Chibambo do not mention it at all, and Bryant refers only to Soshangane's part in it.

A few years after Zwangendaba left Natal, he was followed by Mzilikazi, a chief who for a while fought under Shaka and then fled from him with his followers.

[a] Wesselmann, 'Angoni paramountcy', pp. 106f; Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, pp. 18f; Ranger, 'Mtwakazi', pp. 36f.
[b] Theal, *Portuguese in South Africa*, pp. 173f.

[illegible] E.1 (1946-1949) 1954 F 20 Ngoni F 20
Migrations

[illegible] Swazi Queen or the Ghoshlan Chiefs or Mzilikazi. French, who visited among them, does not record in their history any fight with Zwangendaba, nor do Moffat, Brown, Young or Chilcombe. Moffat and Smith say that it is a matter of doubt whether or not Zwangendaba and Mzilikazi. However, Wilson, who states that Zwangendaba broke away from Mzilikazi, says they have only a fight between them. Lancaster writes that there was a fight on the Transvaal border in 1826 before the visit of 1835. Poole makes his fight take place in about 1825 and writes of the Ngoni as they were living in the vicinity of modern Bulawayo and calling Mzilikazi to the Transvaal. If we are to accept the existence of contact between Zwangendaba and Mzilikazi at all, either of these two versions is preferable to that of Winterbottom, who implies that after taking part in the 1823 raid on Delagoa Bay, Zwangendaba moved to the vicinity of Salisbury where he met Mzilikazi, only to move on to the Zambezi in 1835. Winterbottom records how two years were marching and fighting than seems likely to have taken place. There is also conclusive evidence, set out by French, that Mzilikazi did not leave the Transvaal under four pressure until about 1836.

If Zwangendaba and Mzilikazi were not living side by side, the suggestion by Lancaster and Winterbottom that they quarrelled about a dog is unlikely to be correct. There may be confusion here with the story, recorded by Fynn and Boughey, of a quarrel between Mpezeni and Mwanakwa over their dogs.[1]

6. *Fission*

Various writers describe three occasions on which, according to their accounts, dissident sections broke off from the main body of Ngoni prior to Zwangendaba's death. Our view is that only one of these occasions actually took place, and that it was relatively unimportant.

The first allegedly dissident group is that sometimes known as the Maseko Ngoni, now dwelling in the region round Mount Darwin, on both sides of the border between southern Nyasaland and Portuguese East Africa. Murray, Young, Hambelt, Poole and Brewer state that after crossing the River Zambezi together, the Ngoni of southern Nyasaland broke off from Zwangendaba while he was in Nsenga country. Lewis, Johnson, Sage, Lancaster and Boughey state that these Ngoni crossed the Zambezi separately from Zwangendaba. Elmslie says that they were not an offshoot of Zwangendaba's party, while Read, Chilcombe and Winterbottom state that they broke away from Mzilikazi, not from Zwangendaba. Fraser mentions a group that remained behind when Zwangendaba crossed the river and says that it went on to the east of Lake Nyasa, but does not say that it later returned to southern Nyasaland. Of all these writers, Read has had most contact with the Ngoni of southern Nyasaland, and her account, as amplified by Winter-

[1] Poole, *Matabele tribes*, p. 5; Winterbottom, 'Outline histories', pp. 15/; Lancaster, 'Chronology', pp. 28, 31; Young, *History*, pp. 109/; Murray and Smith, 'Exploration', p. 130; French, *Past and future*, p. 171; Field, *Fieldom*, pp. 45/; Boughey, 'Mbelebele', p. 63.

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homes, seems the most acceptable.* Two other versions of this alleged dissension may also be rejected. Bryant says that the southern Nyamkumbi Ngoni remained behind after the main body had crossed the river and that they were led by Gwana (sic), Zwangendaba's principal headman. Bridgeman's account is similar, except that he says they broke off after crossing the river. This conflicts with the evidence of Young and Chikumbu of the subsequent part played by Gwana, but lieutenant is apparent i, with Zwangendaba's own group. We must also reject the contention of Cockburn and Hodgson that the southern Nyamkumbi group broke away from the main body of Ngoni after Zwangendaba's death in Tanganyika Territory. The statement made by Stanley and followed by numerous other writers that the Hehe are an Ngoni group is quite without foundation.** Some other communities in southern Tanganyika who were merely raided by Ngoni have themselves taken the name Ngoni or some other name used by Ngoni.***

Poole speaks in one place of 'the secession of Nyaube' (Nyaube) from Zwangendaba, but this does not tally with his earlier statements that Nyaube's emigration was independent of Zwangendaba, and that the first secession from Zwangendaba's host was that of the southern Nyamkumbi Ngoni. Bryant's account of Nyaube is much fuller than Poole's, and corroborates Poole's suggestion that Nyaube crossed the Zambezi on the Luguru Congo. According to Bryant, Nyaube's group never formed part of Zwangendaba's following, and Nyaube was eventually killed in Barotseland. Chikumbu and Winterbottom support Bryant.***

Pauwels, who worked among Mulikani's people, states that a section of Zwangendaba's group, composed of Swazi, broke off at about the time of the Zambezi crossing and turned back to join Mulikani who married the woman who led the dissident section.

* The secession of the southern Nyamkumbi Ngoni from Mulikani was explicit in Wilson's and Poole's assertions that Zwangendaba himself broke away from Mulikani. Wilson, 'Zwangendaba', p. 488; Poole, Native tribes, p. 3.

** Morris, Handbook, p. 30; Young, History, p. 111, and letter to African Studies, 1950; Hamilton, 'Ngoni' (1951), p. 89; Poole, Native tribes, p. 3; Bryant, Olden times, p. 111; Lewis, p. 89, [illegible]; Ngoni, East Central Africa, p. 272; Lancaster, 'Chronology', pp. 38, 39; Hamilton, Anthropology Overseas, p. 2; Read, 'Tradition', p. 489; Chikumbu, My Ngoni, p. 31; Winterbottom, 'Historian', p. 18; Poole, 'Primitive people', pp. 316 f.; Bryant, Olden times, p. 489; Ngoni, 'Ngoni', p. 148; Cockburn, Native tribes, p. 201; Hodgson, 'Down District', p. 148; Stanley, East Central, i, pp. 488, 502; Haughey, 'Africa', pp. 38, 39.

*** Hodgson, Journals, p. 13; Wrede, Native Life, p. 338.

**** Poole, Native tribes, pp. 3 and 5; Bryant, Olden times, pp. 272, 278, 474 et seq., 477 f.; Chikumbu, My Ngoni, p. 16; Winterbottom, 'Southern historical', p. 18.

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This story is followed by Bryant but does not rise in any account collected from Ngoni themselves. It seems probable therefore that this wrestling section was not necessary or important.[1]

There are no other disruptions mentioned in the literature, and it seems probable therefore that until the death of Zwangendaba, the State remained largely intact. During the process, common to Bantu Africa, by which rival claimants to a throne succeed only in dividing their kingdom, spurred with striking effect as seen as the founder of the State welcomed. The dismemberment of segment 18 has sometimes been required as the reason why the State broke up, but it is clear from comparative considerations that a State of this kind was likely to continue to break into a number of independent groups, and that this tendency was greatest at the death or assassination of the king.

Almost right a number of important people, mainly coming from south of the Zambezi, were killed off as a result of an internal struggle for power in which it appears that a recently captured Tumbuka, who were successful with firearms, were allied with the Swazi and other Nguni tribes against the Tonga from the Delagoa Bay region.[2] Unfortunately there is very little information available on the relationship of this struggle to the rest of the political system. It is, however, clear that the effect of killing of a large number of Ngoni of Tonga origin was insufficient to prevent the State breaking up a few years later.

When Zwangendaba died, his sons were still young and, for the time being, effective leadership of the Ngoni was disputed between men of his own generation whose positions are shown in Diagram 2. His brothers, the lords of segments 2 and 6, were already dead. Fraser describes the dispute as a struggle between Ntabeni's children and Mgayi. Ntabeni was a younger brother of Zwangendaba and the lord of segment 7 while Mgayi was Zwangendaba's father's younger brother's son who, on Chiumbu's evidence, represented the interests of the senior of segment 1. Rangeley has a slightly different version and makes Mgayi a supporter of segment 4. Poole, presumably following Fraser, says with some qualification that Ntabeni and Mgayi both claimed the kinship. From what we know of the south-eastern Bantu, and from our knowledge of present-day Ngoni, it seems unlikely that a mother would claim to be the legitimate heir in preference to a son, however much he might strive to gain ascendancy over the son. It seems preferable to follow Young and Chiumbu in regarding Ntabeni and Mgayi

[1] Fraser, *Poet and fiction*, pp. 146-7, 156; Bryant, *Olden times*, pp. 464 *f.*
[2] See p. 83.

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The Zwangendaba's father's brother's son Mgoyi, of the section of Ingwezi 1.

Elmslie states that Nkoloni's people, i.e. those of segment 3, were northward on the west side of Tanganyika and he is followed in this by Murray, Bryant and Tew. Elmslie knew his statement on Stewart, who heard of them there in 1879. However, Stewart did not visit the west side of Lake Tanganyika himself, and merely gathered his information from people in a Mambwe village on his way to the lake in October 1879. The account of the Ngoni that they gave him was incorrect in a number of particulars, and we have, therefore, to treat with caution their statement about the existence of an Ngoni group west of Lake Tanganyika. Even if part of this segment did settle there, it is certain that the whole of segment 3 did not. Hanchell gives genealogical information for the group of Ngoni at present near Kawimbe, Kalonga District, Tanganyika Territory, which links them to Nkoloni and segment 3. Stanley describes an Ngoni group which crossed Ufipa and was allied to Mirambo, and in the light of Hanchell's account it is certain that Stanley is here referring to part, if not the whole, of segment 3. This interpretation is made by Fraser, and is in accord with Young and Chibambo. Hence we may conclude that the main body of segment 3 went north on the east side of Lake Tanganyika and eventually settled in Kalonga District.

Part of segment 3 may have split off and gone elsewhere, possibly to the west of the lake. Hanchell, in his account of the Kalonga group, does not mention Ngwiri, son of Nkoloni, and it is possible that he may have led a group elsewhere although Rangeley states that it was his following that reached Kalonga. Hanchell and Winterbottom write of an abortive expedition by Zwangendaba to the western shores of Lake Tanganyika but make no mention of a group remaining there.

This interpretation conflicts with Elmslie, who says that segment 3 was west of the lake while the group encountered by Stanley were a separate group led by Nkoto. Elmslie does not say who Nkoto was, but it is clear from the context that he does not refer to Nkoto Mpezeni. Hanchell does not mention the name Nkoto in his genealogies. Elmslie may, therefore, have been misled on this point.

The only other writer to mention a group west of the lake is Poole, who says that Nkoloni settled west of the lake in Nyamwezi country, where they were known as Watuta, and, co-operating with the Ruga-Ruga, were encountered by Livingstone and Stanley in 1871. Since in 1871 Livingstone, Stanley, the Ruga-Ruga, and the main body of Nyamwezi were all east of the lake, it appears that Poole intended to write 'east', not 'west'.

Colle refers to contact between the Ngoni and Luba, but the section of Luba with whom the Ngoni fought had crossed from the Congo to the east side of Lake Tanganyika before encountering the Ngoni. The existence of an Ngoni group on the west side of Lake Tanganyika seems therefore to be doubtful.[1]

Fraser says that Mgoyi led the main body, including Mpezeni, Mwamkura, and Mperembe, as far north as Victoria Nyanza. Finding the country poor, he led them back towards Rukwanga country, but died on the way. Fraser is followed by Poole, Soga and Winterbottom. It is perhaps significant that Fraser does not

[1] Elmslie, *Wild Ngoni*, pp. 25-7; Murray, *Handbook*, p. 23; Bryant, *Olden times*, p. 468; Tew, *Lake Nyasa*, p. 34; Stewart, 'Lake Nyassa', p. 268; Poole, *Native tribes*, p. 7; Hanchell, 'Tanganyika territory' (1935), pp. 63 f; Stanley, *Dark Continent*, i, p. 499; Fraser, *Primitive people*, p. 313; Young, *History*, p. 115; Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, p. 23; Colle, *Baluba*, p. 63; Rangeley, 'Mowasi', p. 62.

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mention Mzilikazi's group as reaching Victoria Nyanza, and it may be that he has recently confounded this exploit to the wrong group. Such an interpretation would be in accord with the testimony of Elmslie, Young, Chibambo and Rangeley, and following them, Bryant and Tew. All these writers imply that the main body of Ngoni did not go further north than Ufipa. It also provides a more reasonable chronology, for by Fraser's version we have to assume that within only about five years the main body of Ngoni traversed Tanganyika Territory from south to north and then back again. Lancaster is inconclusive on this point.[1]

3. *Mpezeni's kingdom*

Mgayi did not live long as regent and after his death the senior lieutenant of segment 1 made Mpezeni chief. There was a considerable shortage of food at the time and this, combined with dissension in the tribe about the succession, appears to have precipitated a further split. A follower of Zwangendaba called Zulu Gama, whose position in the segmentary organization seems not to have been recorded, led his segment off to the east, where in the vicinity of Songea he met with that group of Maseko Ngoni which we have mentioned earlier, and who probably broke off from the Ndebele some time prior to 1835. For a while the two groups operated as one but soon they split apart. Some people stayed on in Songea District, others went south and eventually rounded the southern end of Lake Nyasa to arrive in the Dedza District of southern Nyasaland, where they remain to-day.

Of those that remained behind under Mpezeni, the principal cleavage was between segments 2, 4, 5 and 6, all led by Mpezeni, on the one side and segment 3 with the headquarters of segment 1 on the other. Led by the senior lieutenant of segment 1, the latter group moved off to the south-east while Mpezeni moved west. While in the country of the Bisa, segment 2 broke off from Mpezeni and after settling for a while in Bemba country as an independent group it eventually went back to join segment 3. Mpezeni, with segments 4, 5 and 6, went south and eventually arrived in Fort Jameson District. His leadership of these segments seems not to have been questioned, but in the other group the senior lieutenant of segment 1 at first supported the headquarters of segment 3 against the claims to the chieftainship made by segment 8. Mtwalo, the son of Zwangendaba who had been put in charge of the headquarters of segment 3, protested, however, that the real head of that segment was Mwambera, head of segment 8, who thus became chief.

[1] Fraser, *Primitive people*, p. 313; Soga, *South-Eastern Bantu*, p. 274; Poole, *Native tribes*, p. 7; Winterbottom, 'Outline histories', p. 18; Elmslie, *Wild Ngoni*, p. 87; Young, *History*, pp. 115*f*; Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, pp. 29*ff*; Bryant, *Olden times*, p. 467; Tew, *Lake Nyasa*, p. 94; Lancaster, 'Chronology', p. 86; Rangeley, 'Mtwalo', p. 63.

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

When it arrived in Fort Jameson District Mpezeni's group consisted of three segments 4, 5 and 6, all of which belonged to the now dispersed segment 1. By virtue of his claim to be the heir of Zwangendaba, and hence the lord of segment 1, Mpezeni exercised control over segments 6 and 7 as well as over his own segment 4. It appears that the same procedure was adopted with these adhering segments as was followed earlier with the small groups of independent refugees who joined Zwangendaba near Delagoa Bay. For purposes of organization they were attached to the headquarters of the highest segment. As the headquarters of segment 1 had gone away with Mwambera's group, the senior segment headquarters in Mpezeni's group was now that of segment 4, and it was to this village that people from all three segments came to the first fruits festival, and which we may perhaps regard as the capital of Mpezeni's State.

It so happened that in 1898 when British Administration began in this area, the headquarters and most of the dependent villages of segments 6 and 7 lay on the east side of the Zambezi-Nyasa watershed, and the bulk of segment 4 on the west. We might expect that at any place at which this Ngoni group settled, the three major segments of the State would occupy roughly distinct areas, and that as segments 6 and 7 were smaller than segment 4 they might lie on the fringe of the settlement. What appears to have happened is that the Ngoni moved eastwards into that region where the Europeans first found them, and that they were contemplating moving farther east into the present Nyasaland. Segments 6 and 7 were in the van of this advance, and the watershed, which here runs very roughly north and south, happened by accident to separate them from segment 4. This accident has been of considerable importance in the subsequent history of Mpezeni's group, for while segment 4 found itself in the territory of North-Eastern Rhodesia, administered by the British South Africa Company, segments 5 and 6 formed part of the Nyasaland Protectorate, under the Foreign Office. Thus the State was again divided into two, and the Native Authorities which have developed belong to two separate hierarchies of administration.

In this study we are particularly concerned with the fortunes of segment 4, in Northern Rhodesia. Although Mpezeni was the head of this segment, it seems that his physiological mother was not lady of the segment, for she was only a junior linked co-wife. However this woman was prompted to independent status by the formation, within segment 4, of segment 11 (Dingeni) of which she became the lady. The senior man in this segment was her second

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the most part all external relations were warlike. The State, as it were, was internally an organization of segments and externally stood posed against an undifferentiated hostile world. Even with the Maseko Ngoni of southern Nyasaland, the Ngoni group spatially nearest to Mpezeni, relations were warlike.

Despite this hostility, it seems probable that some individuals from the neighbouring tribes did leave their own country and join the Ngoni of their own free will. I was given accounts of this in a number of family and village histories, and while it is possible that some of those people whose ancestors were captured may now think it preferable to speak of voluntary attachment to the Ngoni State rather than capture, I do not think this can be the complete explanation. In the first place, very many Ngoni of to-day are quite prepared to admit that their ancestors were captured on Ngoni raids, so that the desire to conceal the capture of an ancestor, if it exists at all, cannot be widespread. On the contrary, some Cewa chiefs and notables who are now politically independent of the Ngoni and live in their own chiefdoms will recount with great interest how their ancestors were captured by the Ngoni. Secondly, some of those who claim that their ancestors joined the Ngoni of their own volition come from places a long way distant from Ngoni country, where the frequency of Ngoni raids cannot have been high, even if the Ngoni ever raided there at all. For instance, one village claims that its people came voluntarily from as far away as Fingoe, in Portuguese East Africa. Thirdly, there is a well-known instance of a son and other close relatives of an Nsenga chief who joined the Ngoni and rose to high position in the State. The Ngoni Paramount Chief and some of the minor chiefs are still friendly with the descendants of this Nsenga chief, Kalindawalo, and the story that these Nsenga nobles were not captured but were instructed by their own chief to transfer their allegiance to the Ngoni seems probably to be true, despite a contrary tradition among the Nsenga that these men were taken as captives.[39] Lastly there is the evidence of Glave, writing in 1894, who says that a host of villages had given themselves up to the Ngoni rather than submit to the constant anxiety of attack.[40] Thus provision was made for men and women to join the State other than as captives. These volunteers were treated in the same way as captives. They were allocated, either as individuals or in small groups, to a segment and came under the orders of a lord or lady. The Ngoni lived at a much higher standard

[39] cf. Field, *Vitiilano*, p. 16; Poole, *Native tribes*, pp. 42-4.

[40] 86, fo. 329. See p. p. 68, f.n. 8. See also Wiese, 'Expediçäo', p. 478.

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Mpezeni

of life than their neighbours, largely at the expense of those neighbours. It is therefore not surprising that at least some of the more adventurous of the hunted should have decided to join the ranks of the hunters.

In Tanganyika the activities of the Arabs and other slave traders brought about significant changes in Ngoni society earlier than in the less accessible Nyasa region. The Ngoni in Tanganyika did not regard their neighbours merely as enemies. Ngoni warriors formed part of the army of Mirambo, the Nyamwezi slave trader. An elaborate network of joking relationships seems to have regulated intercourse between the tribes of Tanganyika and the Tanganyika Ngoni were linked to many of their neighbours in this way.[41] Joking relationships of this kind did not develop among the Fort Jameson Ngoni. In recent times, however, Ngoni from Fort Jameson have come into contact on the Copperbelt and elsewhere with tribes such as the Bemba who have developed a joking relationship with other Ngoni groups. These joking relationships are now extended to the Fort Jameson men.

From this historical account we are able to gain some idea of Ngoni polity during the mid-nineteenth century. We have restricted our attention to the relations existing between major portions of the State and between the State and its neighbours. We have seen how forms of organization, in particular the lineage system, with which the Ngoni began their march, were modified in conformity with the peculiar conditions of migrant brigandage. In the next chapter we shall look more closely at the internal organization of the State and attempt to analyse the social processes at work within it.

[41] See the writings of Moreau, Pedler, Scrivenor and Spies.

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
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561 involving perhaps between a dozen and a hundred men, whereas
621 the Paramount Chief could, so long as the State remained intact,
701 command the services of perhaps 10,000 warriors.

This unifying effect of the age-set system applied particularly
561 to the recent captives. It appears to have been through the regi-
727 mental system that recent captives, both men and women, were
621 indoctrinated into Ngoni ways and made to feel that they, too, were Ngoni. In the residential system, recent captives were dependants rather than lords. In the age-set system there was no such distinction. Men captives were drafted into the regiment appro-
[702] priate to their apparent age, and boys were enrolled with their coevals. They were called upon to fight in the same way as their aristocratic comrades, and were offered the same prospects of promotion, both within the age-set system and in the segmentary organization, as a result of successful fighting. Many of the well-remembered segment heads who achieved rapid promotion after capture are described as being successful warriors.

The annual first fruits ceremony (*nkwala*) was organized on an
561 age-set basis. Although I was not able to establish details of this
796 ceremony, it is clear that it was the most memorable national ceremony in the year, and that it provided supernatural sanction to the cohesion of the State and of the various regiments, under the leadership of the Paramount Chief. There were dances and mock fighting between regiments, and women also fought with each other in age-set groups of some kind or other. Read states that the description of the ceremony she was given showed much similarity with the corresponding Swazi ceremony. Commentators on the
[171] Swazi and Zulu ceremonies describe them as strengthening the army and the kingship and unifying the nation, by a dramatic exaggeration of the conflicts as well as the links within it, and it is probable that this was true also of the Ngoni.[9]

[167] The Ngoni and their neighbours formed part of a wide social
648 system, and the relationship between them was a political one.
631 When the Ngoni moved from place to place, the area round them was vacated by its former inhabitants, so as to leave a dwelling-area for the Ngoni and a no-man's-land isolating it from other inhabited areas. These moves were forced on the indigenous people by Ngoni raids. There were no direct relations between
[772] States, for there was little concerted opposition to Ngoni raiding

[9] cf. Read, 'Tradition', p. 470; Kuper *African Aristocracy*, pp. 229-5; Gluckman, 'First fruits ceremonies', pp. 30-3. The Swazi ceremony is called *incwala*, and Read's informants called it *inqwala*, but my informants had lost their click consonants.

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than were the groups further inland. However, the evidence suggests that no great changes of this kind took place among the Fort Jameson group under Mpezeni, and it is therefore with changes in the external environment of the State that we shall be chiefly concerned.

In this early period, between 1821 and about 1885, there was for most of the time a situation in which the forces attaching people to the State were stronger than those tending to split it. The age-set system, the web of affinal ties, the attachment of segment members to their lord, the reliance of a lord on the support of his dependants, and the external opposition of all non-Ngoni, these all held the State together. Shifts in the balance of power could be made without disrupting the State because the State was continually expanding, and expansion gave it flexibility. The weakest links in the State were at the top, and it was these that were most strained as the State grew in numbers and in degree of segmentation. Under critical conditions, as on the death of the Paramount Chief or when the need for food necessitated a move from one tribal site to another, these were the links that gave way and fresh independent States were formed. Fission in the State led to consolidation of ties in each divergent group, but the same processes leading to further fission began again at once.

During the period of migration the Ngoni flourished. They were successful brigands on the march. Yet they were brigands in a poor land, and despite their military successes their economy remained one of subsistence cultivation, even though others did some of the cultivation for them. They were well organized for war and their enemies were not, but both they and their enemies were poor people relying on shifting cultivation with a poor technology and with access to only moderately valuable natural resources. The hinterland of Africa provided the Ngoni with an area within which they could operate successfully, but this area was bounded by the lands of wealthier and mightier peoples. Towards the end of the century the boundaries of the area began to contract. The Ngoni found themselves in conflict not with subsistence cultivators using hoes and spears, but with peoples using writing and guns and possessing apparently limitless resources of cloth, beads and gunpowder. We now have to turn to the story of the Ngoni struggle with these Arab and European invaders.

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439 464 648 law and order. In this, not only the Ngoni were concerned. There was a shortage of labour in Nyasaland and Mpezeni's raids prevented labourers reaching that country from the interior. The campaign against Mwase in 1895 was undertaken partly with the aim of opening up labour routes and Mpezeni's defeat carried this a stage further. The Collector at Kotakota wrote shortly after the war: 'It is quite safe to say that no greater assistance has been given to these districts (and in fact to the Protectorate) than this opening up of the Luapula Valley by the conquest of Mpezeni.'[136] Yet the Luapula is 350 miles from Fort Jameson. Even Ngoni technical skill in fighting was of value to the new conquerors, for within six [167] months of the war Ngoni fighting men were in Southern Rhodesia, not as allies of the Ndebele but as part of the British South Africa Police. Within ten months, the headquarters of segment 13 had been moved to make way for the new Administrative capital. With the defeat of Mpezeni, North-Eastern Rhodesia became a country.

178 361 648 A final point requires explication. Granted that the Ngoni social system had to change in this new complex social environment, and granted also that their activities, in particular raiding, had to be adapted to new demands on their labour, why did not the Ngoni continue to live in large villages as they had done hitherto? There are numerous analogies in Africa where segmentary social systems have been fitted into an Administrative framework, and where raiding has given way to migrant labour, and yet the pattern of settlement has remained the same. Why did the big Ngoni villages disappear after 1898?

Part of the answer to this question can be stated in ecological terms. In pre-conquest times, the dense population, human and bovine, the great stretches of cultivated land, and the manifest prosperity of the people impressed themselves vividly on contemporary observers accustomed to the scattered settlements of the surrounding tribes. Angus writes:

> 'Before us lay an undulating valley some miles in breadth, which, as the heavily timbered hills on either side proclaimed, had once been covered with forest, but was now denuded of every vestige of a tree. Village after village surrounded by waving cornfields, and green plains dotted with herds of cattle, stretched away into the distance. Never before in any of my African wanderings had I seen such an extent of land under cultivation; the cornfields seemed unending, and the size and number of the

[136] *B.C.A.G.*, v, 6 (30 April 1898), p. 4.

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such as Sharpe, Thomson and Deare, and with my own information based on village histories. Combining this with the lowest estimate of population, we arrive at a population density of 100 persons to the square mile, while the highest estimate implies a density of 375. Highly unreliable as these figures are, it is clear that the density of population was considerably greater before the conquest than it is now, when it averages about 68 persons to the square mile. Even the present-day figure is nearly three times the density which the land can sustain in perpetuity.

This dense population was concentrated in large villages. Angus estimated that there were at least a thousand huts in Loangeni, while Deare estimated that there were sixteen hundred. Read states that it was over three miles across, while Genthe says that Ngoni villages were about five times the size of the average Cewa village. From the top of a mountain, Deare saw eleven villages all about the same size as Loangeni.[141] Thus it seems that there were several villages with populations of the order of three thousand. If Deare and Johnston are right in their estimates of tribal population the majority of the people lived in these big villages.

Yet by September 1898 the only villages left in Mpezeni's country were a few to the east of Fort Young. All the rest had been destroyed by troops, and their former inhabitants were said to be 'still timid' and living in scattered groups in grass shelters.[142] The large pre-conquest settlements were particularly vulnerable to attack by troops armed with guns and intent on burning, the more so because there were no defensive preparations at all. Glave wrote in 1894 that the Ngoni 'have no stockaded village, such protection they deem unnecessary as no enemy can be strong enough to attack them'.[143]

The large villages and the high density of population were appropriate only to a victorious military society, relying for at least part of its subsistence on raided crops and beasts produced outside its borders and for the rest on the maximum exploitation of the land inside them. When its enemies had been plundered and its own lands exhausted, it moved on. We can infer from Angus and from Sharpe, who wrote of 'entirely open' country,[144] that within the settled area most of the cultivable land was in use at the same time. Yet in many parts of the Fort Jameson area the soil is now exhausted after five years under maize and must be left for twenty-five years

[141] Angus, 'Northern Angoniland', p. 78; Deare, 'Slave raiders', 27 April and 11 May; Read, 'Tradition', p. 475, f.n. 2; Genthe, 'Mpezeni's', p. 1.
[142] Selby, memorandum dated 10 March 1901.
[143] 86, fo. 329.
[144] Sharpe, 'Lake Nyassa', p. 745. For Angus, see pp. 102*f*.

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to recover under bush fallow. The long-term carrying capacity of the land before the conquest cannot have been much greater than its present average value of 25 persons to the square mile.[145] Thus it is certain that in pre-conquest times the Ngoni were settled at a density even more in excess of the critical value than it is now, despite alienation. There cannot have been much cultivable land in reserve and the State was exhausting the wealth of its own soil as well as drawing on the resources of its neighbours. Thus even if the large villages had not been burnt, the same number of people could not for long have continued to live in them practising subsistence agriculture. A reduction in the density of population necessarily involved under this economy a reduction in the size of villages, for Ngoni do not like to live more than an hour's walk from their gardens. As it was, the villages were burnt, many Ngoni of Cewa origin left Ngoniland, and much of the more densely settled land, carrying up to 140 persons to the square mile, was alienated to Europeans within six years of the war.[146] The arrangement of persons over the land and the activities they carried on were both dramatically altered by the European conquest. It is, therefore, not surprising that the old society was so drastically changed at the same time. What is perhaps surprising is the extent to which, as we shall see, the forms of grouping of the past have influenced the forms of the new society.

In brief, the old political system was a system of segments, the new one is a system of villages and counties. The county segment links the two systems, but there is no function in the new order for segments embracing several counties or for those that embrace only part of a county. Within the village, the segmentary processes still go on, but at this level of organization we are dealing with kinship rather than politics. When a segment grows beyond the bounds of a single village, it begins to fade away, and we are left with a network of ties which link villages with one another but which do not define mutually exclusive groups as existed in pre-conquest times. The uncertainty about how counties should be divided internally is an indication of the lack of function of these intermediate segments. For some purposes, such as the organization of royal hunts, a county is divided into a number of rural districts. These are geographically defined areas, and it is sometimes possible to say that such-and-such a man, usually a senior lieutenant of the county segment, is the most important person in such-and-such a rural area. However, the recognizable rural districts in a county do not

[145] Allan, *Land Usage*, pp. 16-17.
[146] *N.E.R.G.G.*, ii, 2 (15 March 1904), p. 34.

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of earning money to pay tax, together with such subsidiary measures as the prohibition of Native smelting, and the pressure on men to clothe themselves in imported clothing, ensured that the old order changed beyond the mere loss of sovereignty. Not only were links established with Southern Rhodesia and later with other parts of Africa, but new patterns of distribution of wealth and power were set up which were incompatible with the old order. The chief who stayed at home ruling his people found himself outclassed by the newly returned labourers from the south, with their display of clothes, money and urban mannerisms. The relationships between one tribe and another which formerly had found expression in fighting had now to find other expressions, and began to be based on different interests.

These general considerations applied throughout North-Eastern Rhodesia. In Ngoniland local variation was supplied more by the presence of the North Charterland than by the fact that the Ngoni had been defeated in war. The North Charterland was interested in the economic development of its concession, whereas the Administration had to consider the needs of other territories governed by the B.S.A. Company, particularly Southern Rhodesia. The same administrative policy was applied to the Ngoni as to neighbouring tribes which had not been conquered by force of arms. Nevertheless in Ngoni eyes the Administration discriminated against Ngoni in favour of Cewa. Many Cewa who had been captured shortly before 1898 moved away from Ngoniland after the war, or at least moved in the direction of their homeland. With the end of Ngoni raiding the no-man's-land round Ngoni country filled up again with Cewa who had been displaced when the Ngoni first arrived in the 1870s. Cewa chiefdoms were re-established and recognized by the Administration, to the chagrin of the Ngoni.

Even the Ngoni themselves were referred to by the Administration as the 'Angoni-Chewa' by way of emphasizing their mixed ethnic composition. When the Native Reserve scheme was put forward in 1913 the Ngoni chiefs objected to the Cewa being allotted land of their own, and suggested that all the tribes of the district should be placed in one reserve under Mpezeni II. The Administration did not agree. When villages were moved into the proposed reserves in the 1920s, a few more villages left Ngoniland for Cewa country. At the same time other villages moved into Ngoniland from other chiefdoms in the face of alienation of land or difficulties with the Portuguese Administration. Thus to-day many villages in Ngoniland are of Cewa origin and many villages in Cewa chiefdoms are of Ngoni origin.

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effort to induce them to co-operate actively with the government, and by 1910 he was looking forward to reducing the number of White officials in the Administration by devolving much of the Native work on to the Natives themselves. Co-operation was encouraged by the payment of small stipends to chiefs and others, varying in the 1920s in annual value from £22 10*s.* 0*d.* for Mpezeni down to 6*s.* for district messengers.

The Ngoni for the most part neither supported nor opposed this scheme of administration; they merely accepted it. For years the Administration bemoaned the indifference of the Ngoni, but apart from an attempt by a mission to set up its teachers as headmen, there was little attempt to obstruct the work of the Administration.

In matters of land, the authority of the Whites was also dominant, but here the paternal amiability which characterized purely political relations between Administration and Ngoni was lacking. The alienation of land was at the instigation of the North Charterland, who considered themselves the owners of Ngoni country. Fort Jameson was built by the Administration in the middle of Ngoni country and the land round the township, few facilities though the town then had, became more valuable to potential settlers than more fertile but inaccessible tracts. The high density of population in Ngoni country also attracted settlers with the prospect of an adequate labour supply. Thus we find that many of the fist tracts of land alienated were located in the middle of Ngoni country, in the most densely populated section. As early as 1 January 1904 the first Commission was appointed to inquire into land questions in Ngoni country.[18] Now that Ngoni had to grow their own food on land which had already been heavily exploited the density of population fell; but in relation to the carrying capacity of the land in perpetuity there was still serious overcrowding. During the unsettled period of the war and its aftermath, the population was dispersed, but from 1900 down to about 1930, in consequence of alienation and the formation of reserves, villages were gradually brought closer together. From 1930 onwards, with the recognition of land shortage by the Administration, villages have been allowed to spread out again. The negotiations concerning where the Ngoni should live have been protracted and complicated; I hope to discuss them in a later work in connexion with the economic background of Ngoni social life. What is here significant about them is that to a very large extent these negotiations have been carried on entirely by Whites, with the Administration representing for the greater part Ngoni

[18] *N.R.R.G.G.*, ii, 1 (1 January 1904), pp. 30-1.

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paid more than 17, as befits the fact that segment 14 contains segment 17, and similarly 11 is paid more than 16.

From another point of view we see that the sizes of the counties, in terms of the number of villages, are in accord with the segmentary alignment, although here we have to remember that we are dealing not with the county segments, residual or primal, but with the counties themselves, each containing villages from many segments. Yet despite this complication, it remains true that the status of a chief, as measured by the number of villages he controls, is in conformity with his position in the segmentary residential system. It may well be that during the early administrative period fortune favoured those leaders whose *de facto* following was in agreement with their position in the old political system. The use of hereditary names emphasizes the connexion of the minor chiefs of to-day with the pre-conquest State and to some extent reflects their traditional alignment. Apart from county 16, where the hereditary name changed when a chief was succeeded by his brother, all the hereditary names refer to the first holders of the chieftainship, though not necessarily to the first leader of the county segment. Thus, for example, segment 5 was founded by Lomapela, brother of Zwangendaba. When the British Administration began, segment 5 was led by Zulu, a son's son of Lomapela. Zulu was recognized as a chief by the Administration, and the name Zulu has been adopted by the two chiefs, his sons, who have succeeded in turn. Similarly, segment 15 was founded for the lady Kukuya Kupili twala, a wife of Ntutu Mpezeni I. Her eldest son, Sayili, was recognized by the Administration as a chief, and this name has been inherited by his son and son's son who have succeeded him as county chief.

We should not infer from the conformity between the position of chiefs in modern and traditional terms that the present system is maintained solely by values surviving from before the conquest. This is plainly not the case. Our point here is that in this particular respect traditional values do not clash with those of the new order.

6. *Counties as territorial units*

We have seen that during the period of migration there were no lasting boundaries, and that political allegiance outlasted changes in geographical location. This state of affairs continued for some time after the conquest. The moves that were made were much shorter than in previous times, but the same principle applied. From 1900 to 1930 many villages moved from one site to another as land was alienated to Whites, as the boundaries of proposed

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and inter-village movement, reporting infringements to the local Native Court or to the Administration. When employed on these duties they are known as land messengers. They sometimes work in conjunction with employees of the Agricultural or Veterinary Departments. Clerks spend most of their time in the Administration offices but visit villages from time to time to collect tax and to carry out jobs, like selling maize in famine areas, which demand some knowledge of writing. In Nyasaland, however, it is customary for a clerk employed by the Administration to live at the Native Court for longer periods to collect tax. In both countries employees of other technical departments of the Administration, such as Water and Health, are occasional visitors to the villages. The two police forces, Northern Rhodesia Police and Nyasaland Police, are mainly concerned with law enforcement in the towns and on White farms, but come to villages when serious crimes, such as murder, have been reported.

Behind these African employees are the European administrators and technicians on whose orders they act. They form as it were a protective screen round their White superiors, and access to each White official is guarded by his Black entourage. Whites rely to a considerable extent on their Black assistants for information concerning affairs in the villages under their care, and villagers and townsfolk rely on the cooperation of their friends in the employ of the Administration when they seek its support. Thus the permanent employees of the Administration stand between two worlds. For the most part they are individuals who are seeking to rise, not in the indigenous rural order but in the new urban situation, in which smart clothes, wealth and a proper disdain for villagers who are content to live in 'the jungle' have high value. Their own way of life is at variance with both that of their White superiors and of the villagers around them.

Not all the African employees of the Administration who work in Ngoniland are themselves Ngoni, but even those who are not are for the most part linked by affinity to Ngoni villagers. Thus the relationship between the agricultural demonstrator or the land messenger and the people he has to supervise is not simply an administrative one. There is a tendency to widen the basis of every social relationship in all simple societies, and it is easier to do this when the social distance between the two persons involved is small. Thus non-Ngoni members of the African Civil Service who are posted to Fort Jameson often marry Ngoni women or discover some remote connexion of kinship which links them to others around them. Even Ngoni civil servants themselves tend to increase the

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166 582 closeness of the ties linking them to the areas in which they find themselves. To give two extreme examples, an agricultural demonstrator, after a few months in a rural compound, sought to marry a daughter of a near-by village headman. A policeman, sent to a village to investigate a murder, married a woman related to the dead man. Marriages of this kind are made partly because there is no other way by which a stranger in a village can be certain of getting enough to eat, but they also serve to broaden and diversify the relationship between the stranger and the people among whom he finds himself. Some of these marriages are terminated when the stranger is moved to another district, but there are a number of instances where Ngoni wives have gone with their stranger husbands to distant mines and towns. This process is, of course, merely part of the much wider one by which many Ngoni women follow their [167] husbands when they leave their villages to seek work in Southern Rhodesia.

647 557 Similarly, chiefs and other important rural leaders endeavour to establish enduring relations with members of the African Civil Service. Some civil servants are their kinsmen, for one way by which a junior son of an important man can gain the position he desires but which is denied him by the rule of primogeniture is to enter the Civil Service or to seek advancement in one of the churches. Others are related by affinity, while yet others may go out of the way to offer hospitality to visiting political leaders when they need food and shelter in town. Some Ngoni civil servants maintain large households in the villages, which they visit at week-ends, and which they hope will have grown into recognized villages by the time they come to retire.

554 557 647 Thus there are two distinct groups of Africans concerned with public affairs, the African Civil Service and the Native Authority bureaucracy. They are in intimate association with one another, and both exercise considerable political power. Both are formally distinct from the old political system. But status in traditional terms, as chief or village headman or head of a division or cluster, is still recognized in the face-to-face relations of people generally, and hence there is a continual attempt to bring the two systems into congruence with one another. Clerks aspire to become headmen when they retire, while headmen aspire to be the fathers and fathers-in-law of clerks. This is no new development, for as early as 1907 Stigand reported that a Swahili, whose home was near Zanzibar, and who had been a soldier, had founded a small village close to Fort Manning.[20]

[20] Stigand, 'Natives of Nyasaland', p. 125. See p. 118.

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One reason why the two bureaucracies remain separate is that members of the Civil Service are moved from one headquarters to another as the exigencies of the service demand, whereas a Native Authority councillor or foreman cannot, in general, seek similar employment in another tribe. In 1951 an Ngoni Native treasury clerk was transferred to a similar post in a neighbouring tribe, but moves of this kind are still exceptional, and almost out of the question where chiefs' posts are concerned. Clerks and messengers employed by the Administration are more likely to be moved at short notice, and the whole process of adaptation has to be begun again. The Ngoni clerk who is moved away from Ngoni country has to settle down to life in a strange district, and the stranger who comes to Fort Jameson has to find his way around the complexities of Ngoni society.

This factor of movement is even more significant in the case of the White administrators. Most of them spend only a few years in Ngoniland, and to them the Ngoni are merely one tribe among the many that they meet with in the course of their professional lives. Most of them can speak Nyanja, which most Ngoni can understand, so that there is not the added complication of interaction through interpreters, with the interpreters in a key social position, as Mitchell points out for the Nyasaland Yao.[21] But even though they can speak directly to Ngoni, it takes time for them to learn the faces of the people they see in the various Native Courts and at tribal meetings, and it also takes time to determine how these faces are related in a political system. Thus of necessity administrators are forced to rely on the advice of the African Civil Service, principally the messengers and clerks, and of the important chiefs when they need local knowledge to guide them. Chiefs and clerks attempt to establish firm relations with the administrators with whom they work, but owing to the great social distance which separates Black and White throughout southern Africa, there is little scope for this. Some messengers like to suggest that it is they, and not the White administrators, who really decide what shall be done. While this may have been partially true at one time, it is not true now. As Ngoni society has changed gradually in the direction of something with which administrators are more familiar, and as the content of administrative action has become less and less restricted to such simple activities as collecting tax and making roads, so the power of the district messenger has declined.[22]

[21] Mitchell, 'Political Organization of the Yao', pp. 153-4.

[22] Bradley, *Diary of a District Officer*, records in interesting fashion the relationship between himself, as District Officer, and Head Messenger Kachaje of Fort Jameson.

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they might give their support to the enforcement of law. Murder has always been a public delict in Ngoni society and before the conquest, a murderer was usually tried by senior lieutenants at the headquarters of either segment 4 or 10 and if found guilty was executed by the first lieutenant of the segment. Ngoni still think that murderers ought to be brought to justice, but the investigation of murder, a matter for the Northern Rhodesia Police, is likely to be obstructed even though the investigation may be carried out entirely by Africans. Those affected by the murder wish to see the murderer punished, but they also want to keep clear of the legal process involved.

10. *External links*

The death of Zwangendaba was followed by a dispersal of Ngoni groups into various parts of east and central Africa. The present dispersal of Ngoni men and women from Fort Jameson over southern Africa arises from a different social situation and takes place in a different way. The early mining enterprises of Southern Rhodesia, like those in the Union of South Africa before them, were based on migratory labour. As we have noted, Ngoni began going to Southern Rhodesia only a few months after they had been conquered, and they have continued to go ever since. Although the first batch of migrants were apparently ordered to go by someone in authority, the great bulk of men who have gone away subsequently have gone as individuals, even if they were recruited in batches of a hundred or more at a time. Thus, the dispersal of population is not directly related to the political system of the tribe, as was the pre-conquest dispersal. There has been a certain amount of regional preference, one county supplying more than its share of migrants to the Northern Rhodesia Copperbelt, the Nyasaland counties supplying proportionately more migrants to the Union as compared with the Northern Rhodesia counties, and so on, but these preferences are not marked. The inhabitants of each county, and indeed of nearly every village, have kinsfolk who are scattered over the towns and farms of the Rhodesias, Nyasaland, the Transvaal and farther south.

Ngoni men and women are thus bound by many ties to other persons and groups located far away from the villages of Ngoniland. For the most part these ties bind individuals, for each person has distant attachments which are not the same as his neighbours. In this volume we are concerned primarily with politics, with social relations between enduring groups, and we shall reserve our discussion of the social implications of migration for a later work in

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which we shall be more directly concerned with the smaller groupings of Ngoni society. There are, however, a few points that must be mentioned here.

In Fort Jameson and in a few of the towns on the Northern Rhodesia railway line there are Ngoni members of the Native Urban Courts. These posts are largely in the gift of the Native Authority although they are not paid by the Native Treasury. The man recommended by the Paramount Chief to the Administration is usually the one appointed, and he acts as a representative of the Native Authority in the town as well as carrying out his duties in the court. He is likely to act as host when a chief visits his town, and messages are sometimes sent through him to men and women who are wanted in connexion with affairs in Ngoniland.

Every few years or so a chief goes to visit the towns. Here he is received by his people and those of other Ngoni counties, and may be given substantial presents. The Paramount Chief is sometimes called to Lusaka by the Administration to attend some function, and newly appointed chiefs go to a school near there, where courses of instruction are held for them. Thus although migrants may leave their villages and not return to them for many years, there are opportunities for them to keep in touch with rural happenings. Most of their contacts are with their kinsfolk, who visit them or write to them, but there are also these links with the political system of the tribe. When political offices have to be filled, not only Ngoni living rurally are considered but also those in the towns whose whereabouts are known. Sometimes the fare is sent for the lorry journey back to Fort Jameson if the town-dweller has no money.

There is little contact between the Fort Jameson group and other Ngoni groups. In 1914 envoys came from the northern Nyasaland group in order, it is said, formally to confirm Mpezeni as Paramount Chief of the Fort Jameson group, but there does not seem to have been any subsequent contact between the heads of the two groups. Individuals from northern Nyasaland from time to time find their way into Fort Jameson District, usually while searching for work on the tobacco farms, in the same way as men from other tribes. These immigrants may persuade some of their relatives to join them and so build up sufficient following to set themselves up as village headmen.

Contact is naturally closer with the two Nyasaland counties formerly under Mpezeni and many Ngoni in Northern Rhodesia have relatives across the border. The border twists and turns, and there is no physical indication of its existence on the ground save

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Secretariat or the Legislative Council. The agenda consists of items suggested by the African members and by the Administration. The African members of the Council elect four of their number as their nominees to the African Representative Council of Northern Rhodesia, which in its turn advises the Governor on the appointment of the African members of Legislative Council. As yet, the Provincial Council meetings attract little attention among the bulk of the African population, and few Ngoni know who their members are. Nevertheless among the chiefs and councillors these meetings, if regarded with suspicion, are of some interest, and for the two delegates they provide an opportunity for stressing in public what they regard as the Ngoni point of view as contrasted with those of other tribes. Many of the Ngoni speeches are phrased in anachronistic terms, and represent more an affirmation of how different the Ngoni are or used to be rather than a realization of how similar their interests now are to those of their neighbours. However, it is possible as the Council acquires more power and the consequences of its deliberations begin to affect more people directly, Ngoni will take a greater interest in its proceedings.[28] The same comments apply to Ngoni participation on the Provincial Team, an advisory body with representatives from the Administration, the unofficial White community, Indians and Africans.

Ngoniland is almost completely surrounded by Cewa chiefdoms. The old no-man's-land which isolated the Ngoni from their neighbours in pre-conquest times has long ago disappeared. On the fringes of Ngoni country there is a great deal of contact between Ngoni villages and their Cewa neighbours and the links of kinship stretch across tribal boundaries without interruption. Within Ngoniland itself, under the control of county chiefs, are some villages which still speak the Cewa language rather than the Nsenga dialect used by most Ngoni. Most of these Cewa-speaking villages have come into Ngoniland after 1898. Their numbers are indicated in Table VII (p. 133) where it will be seen that on the average about one village in five has entered in this way. The great majority of these are Cewa in origin. Some of them claim that they have returned to ancestral sites, others state that they came as a result of land alienation or of some quarrel with their former chief. Others have been formed by non-Ngoni immigrants who have worked for many years in the township or on the farms and built up their own followings. In Northern Rhodesia villages of this kind form an integral part of Ngoni society. The cultural features which distin-

[28] cf. Barnes, 'History', for a discussion of the way in which Ngoni members act at council meetings.

2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956
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the northern Ngoni kingdom. Other groups of these Ngoni were found in three separate states in the Dowa and Kotakota districts. The Ngoni in the Ncheu district were known as Gomani's Ngoni and will be called in this book the central Ngoni kingdom. Four states which separated from this kingdom were found in the Dedza, Lilongwe and Cholo districts. The Ngoni in Fort Manning district belonged to Mpeseni's kingdom in the Fort Jameson district of Northern Rhodesia.

According to these census figures, the northern Ngoni kingdom with the three separated states accounted for 69,706; the central kingdom with the four separated states accounted for 46,891. Leaving out the Fort Manning Ngoni, there were 71,354 Ngoni in the rest of Nyasaland who had at one time formed part of the northern and central kingdoms and their offshoots, but who had dispersed in search of work and had made large settlements in the towns and on the estates of the southern province where employment was to be found. A similar dispersion from the main Ngoni concentrations in Nyasaland to Southern and Northern Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa had taken place which formed part of the extensive emigration from Nyasaland in search of better employment than that available in the territory.

The existence of two Ngoni kingdoms, several smaller Ngoni states, and a still larger number of people enumerated as Ngoni but dispersed in every district of Nyasaland, poses a number of problems for the anthropologist. In this book I have concentrated on the two Ngoni kingdoms and on the Ngoni culture found in them in the 1930's. It was my intention, by focusing on the two kingdoms, to show that there was an Ngoni culture which had common elements in both areas and hence was shared to some extent by all the Ngoni living in Nyasaland. We shall be asking the questions in Part I—Who can be called Ngoni? What is Ngoni culture? Why do people in every district of Nyasaland enumerate themselves as Ngoni though a large number no longer live in the Ngoni kingdoms or in the Ngoni states? Are we discussing a people whose cultural affiliation survives political dispersal? The chief problem in the relation between the Ngoni kingdoms as political states and Ngoni culture will be stated in Part I and illustrated and analysed in the rest of the book. In this chapter, we shall examine the ethnic composition of the inhabitants of the two Ngoni kingdoms.

ETHNIC ELEMENTS IN THE NGONI KINGDOMS

There were four main groups of people in the Ngoni kingdoms, distinguished by the areas from which their ancestors came and designated by the Ngoni as 'those from the south', 'those from south of the Zambesi', 'those from the march' and 'those from this country'. The Ngoni said that the clan descent name of a person showed to which group he or she belonged.

2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956

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[P.207]

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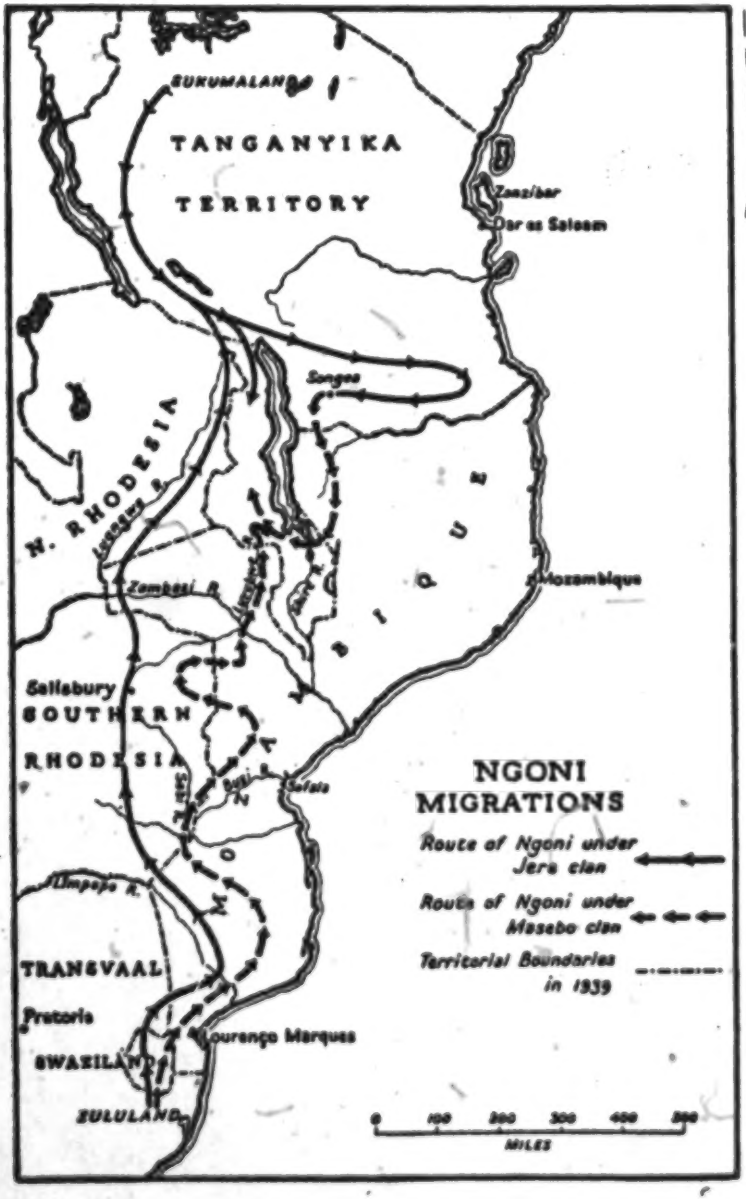

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1960
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I

Ngoniland and the People who lived in it

The homeland

The little country of Nyasaland in Central Africa received its name from the lake by which Livingstone and those who followed him penetrated into the interior and reached the lands and people living round the lake. On the west side there is a narrow strip of low-lying coastal land. Then a series of escarpments begin, and up them roads and paths wind through steep wooded valleys, until the final scarp leads to the grasslands of the high plateau. Here on the high plateau the Ngoni settled about the middle of the nineteenth century, after nearly forty years of trekking from Natal to Tanganyika. They turned south again at the shores of Lake Victoria and returned to this land which they had passed through on their northward march. This high plateau has great diversity of scenery, and much of it reminded the Ngoni of the hills and valleys and grasslands of Natal. There are high mountains with sharp peaks and massive granite shoulders. Between the ranges of lower grass-covered hills are shallow valleys where the rain washes down good soil to the valley bottoms. Sweeps of grassland, bare of trees, alternate with river valleys where there is a continuous flow of water, fed by springs and mountain streams.

In the dry season, from April to November, the trees lose their leaves and the grass gradually dries up till the prevailing colours are gold and brown against the black and grey

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939)1960
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177 561 464 The cessation of warfare, the coming of schools and of a money economy, the urge to find wage-earning work and the opportunities offered by the labour recruiters to emigrate —these were a series of events which radically altered the prospects and outlook of young men. The effect of schooling, [871] [434] [583] if taken seriously, and most Ngoni fathers saw that their sons at least attended regularly, was to equip boys of sixteen or seventeen or even younger to go and get wage-earning jobs. This urge to earn money, in addition to meeting demands for taxes, was strengthened because the cattle to be handed over at marriage had now to be bought from other herds, or at least eventually replaced by purchase, instead of, as formerly, being captured in war. The young men therefore felt that [885] earning money was essential, and finding a job was regarded as a sign of manhood in much the same way as joining a regiment had been. After warfare ceased, and taking the headring was given up as a mark of full manhood and mature status, there was no longer any probition on marriage until [582] a certain age had been reached. The limiting factors in the age of marriage became economic ones instead of military and social ones. Young men whose fathers were able to provide the cattle for the marriage transfer, were able to marry from the age of about eighteen upwards, build huts for their wives, escape from living a bachelor existence in the dormitory, and then go off and find work by emigrating, if no [167] wages which they considered adequate were to be earned in the neighbourhood. These young men then could emerge from the group known as 'youths' at any age from eighteen upwards as soon as they married. If they left the village to find work before they married, they left from and returned to the dormitory, and were still known as youths. Their emigration after marriage, usually after the wife was pregnant and they had 'put a child in the hut', presented the picture familiar in areas such as Enkodlweni of villages almost stripped of their young men, and of young wives living alone in their huts among their husband's relations. The practice of

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1960
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and the notched sticks were only an *aide-mémoire*, not a necessity. 211

The heavens and the earth

When the Pleiades appeared just before dawn they said the Pleiades were being 'reborn' (the word used for the new moon's appearance and for the initiation of a diviner), and that in this position in the heavens they were heralds of the cold season. They knew the relative positions of Venus as an evening star and a morning star, and watched for the appearance high in the heavens of Jupiter which they knew by its size. Orion they recognized as a man with a spear, a hunter, and the Milky Way as the sands of the sky, since sand was used to denote numbers which cannot be counted. 821

In announcing the death of a great chief by a messenger sent from village to village, the traditional formula was: 'Listen. Do you hear? The heavens have fallen.' Hence when earthquakes were felt, it was believed that some great chief had died, and the earthquake was the trembling when his spirit left the earth for the place of the departed spirits. If it turned out to be no one of their own people, they nevertheless held to the belief that somewhere, unknown to them, a 'great one' had died and his spirit had departed at the time of the earth's trembling. 763 775 823

Eclipses of the sun and moon they also connected with some great event either among their own people or elsewhere, and they used the eclipse year and month to date these events. Their famous crossing of the Zambezi on their northward march, finally and irrevocably cutting off their connexions with the south, was during a solar eclipse. In teaching young adults Ngoni history they said: 'When we crossed the Zambezi it became night at noon.' 821 [167]

A lunar eclipse, almost total, occurred when I was in a chief's village, and all the people were called to the kraal and stood watching it. Then the chief's spokesman, his 'mouthpiece', called for silence in the phrase used for a war summons [632]

that despite the vicissitudes of history there is some unbroken but continually changing system of social relationships which we may call Ngoni social structure, and that there is therefore some point in comparing Ngoni marriage in the 1890's with Ngoni marriage to-day; and on the other hand may prepare the way for a broader analysis of Ngoni kinship, of which marriage is one part.

The Fort Jameson Ngoni, with whom alone we are concerned in this paper, differ considerably from the other Ngoni groups in Africa and there is evidence that there are differences in marriage arrangements even from the nearby groups in Northern and Southern Nyasaland. The Fort Jameson Ngoni, numbering about 85,000, live in the Fort Jameson District of Northern Rhodesia and in the Fort Manning division of Lilongwe District of Nyasaland. Their country stretches from 13°25'S to 14°S latitude and from 32°10'E to 35°15'E longitude. Like other Ngoni groups they have a history of migration from Natal at the time of the rise of the Zulu under Shaka in the 1820's. They arrived at their present abode in about 1870 and were conquered by British troops in 1898. The leader of the group was Mpezeni I, and the present Paramount Chief, Mpezeni III, is his son's son's son. There are ten county chieftainships in Northern Rhodesia and two in Nyasaland, and each chief has his own court. The people live by subsistence cultivation, with maize as the main crop. A little maize and some cattle are sold to the local European-owned tobacco farms and in the township of Fort Jameson, but the principal source of money income is work on the farms or at the urban centres of Southern Rhodesia and the railway line of Northern Rhodesia. Many women and almost all men have been to Southern Rhodesia at some time or other[1].

[1] For an outline account of the social structure of this group, see Barnes, 'The Fort Jameson Ngoni', pp. 194 - 252 in Elizabeth Colson and Max Gluckman, eds., *Seven Tribes of British Central Africa*, London, Oxford University Press, 1951.

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni
Mamvi FR4

came. Others followed maternal links or were attracted to the district messengers, the newly-created political agents of the White Administration. About 1912 the Administration adopted a policy of decreasing the number of distinct villages and effected amalgamations between villages which had nothing at all in common except spatial proximity. Later still, from about 1920 onwards, new immigrants began to enter the area from the surrounding Cewa tribe in the face of alienation of land to Whites.

These villages became the basic local administrative units. Men were identified in terms of their tribe, their chief, and their village. To this extent the new village inherited the political functions of the old. But men, instead of being fixed in their allegiance, moved from village to village seeking good land for their gardens and freedom from quarrels. The proliferation of villages was to some extent controlled by the Administration, so that if a man quarrelled with his elder brother he could no longer easily set up a village of his own. Instead he sought refuge with his maternal or affinal kin, registered himself in their village, and became for some purposes at least subordinate to the headman of that village. A man's political position was determined by where he had decided to live, whereas under the old system he had had to live where he belonged politically. The whole nature of affinal and maternal ties shifted so that in some instances they became more important than the ties of paternal kinship.

2. Rival tribes

The values of Ngoni life were in the old days held in conscious opposition to those of the tribes with whom they fought. All the later captives came from matrilineal uxorilocal tribes, who made only token transfers at marriage, and who married at an earlier age than did the military Ngoni. They did not take so severe a view of adultery, and for girls copulation at puberty was obligatory. Captives who had been brought up in this tradition were in the old days forcibly required to adopt the Ngoni way of life, and indeed it seems likely that to some extent they did so willingly as part of the process by which they transferred themselves in allegiance from one group to the other. After 1898 the central government of the Ngoni lost much of its power and it was no longer able to enforce conformity to Ngoni standards. Ngoni marriage payments had been made in cattle, and the looting of cattle made it more difficult to maintain these payments. The example provided by the adjacent Cewa chiefdoms reinforced the tendency to depart from the modes of behaviour of the past. Furthermore, groups of Cewa entered Ngoni country after 1898, as we have already noted, and these people had never been indoctrinated with Ngoni beliefs and values. In addition, many individuals followed their captured relatives and joined them where they were living in Ngoni country. To-day some villages, although under Ngoni chiefs, have matrilineal succession, dance

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
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Cewa dances, speak Cewa, and are to a lesser extent internally organized on Cewa lines. They do not form a distinct class of village in Ngoni country, and are inextricably bound by ties of kinship with their neighbours. But there are fewer traces of the former pre-1898 system of organization in such villages than in those which have a remembered history linking them with the glorious past.[1]

3. Christianity

At the same time as Ngoni values were being undermined from within by the Cewa, they were attacked from without by the Whites. The first missionaries to settle in the area arrived in 1899, although there had been some earlier contact. They attempted to convert Ngoni to Christianity, and therefore to monogamy and pre-marital chastity. In chastity the missionaries were allied with the Ngoni against the Cewa; in monogamy the missions fought against Ngoni allied to Cewa. New rituals were introduced and a new hierarchy developed, composed of priests, evangelists and deacons. However, in this region, unlike much of the rest of Africa, the impact of Christianity has not produced a distinctive legal status of persons married by Christian rite. The Administration's earliest piece of marriage legislation was the *North-Eastern Rhodesia Marriage Regulations*, 1903.[2] There was specific provision for monogamous marriages between Africans, with penalties for bigamy and detailed rules for the division of property left by Africans married under these regulations and dying intestate. Few, if any, marriages involving Africans were made in this form, for it seems that the missions did not license themselves under the Regulations and their ceremonies therefore did not have legal significance to the Administration. These elaborate provisions were repealed by the *Northern Rhodesia Marriage Proclamation*, 1918.[3] Since then the only form of marriage performed within Northern Rhodesia between Africans that has legal significance in the eyes of the Administration is marriage 'in accordance with native law and custom'. What constitutes such a marriage has never been rigidly defined.

The missions themselves have differed in their attitude towards indigenous marriage. One mission insists that all 'customary obligations' must be fulfilled in addition to Christian rites, another holds that it is wrong to transfer wealth from one side to another in marriage, while a third holds that the fulfilment or not of any customary obligations is not the concern of the church. The Native

[1] Cf. Read, 'Tradition and prestige' and 'Moral code' for an account of some of these changes in structure and values, based on observations of three Ngoni kingdoms.

[2] Government Notice No. 2 of 1903, *British Central Africa Gazette*, 146, x, 1, 31 January 1903.

[3] N.R. No. 18 of 1918, *Northern Rhodesia Government Gazette*, viii, 11, 7 September 1918.

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

The Native

courts themselves have been influenced by the introduction of Christian rites, and in matters of divorce have been subject to pressure from the missions.

4. The punishment of adultery

The Administration prevented Ngoni from killing adulterers. Instead they changed adultery into a private delict, without specifying what damages could be awarded. Indeed the whole position of indigenous tribunals was equivocal until 1929, when the Native Courts Ordinance was passed. Until then no specific courts were recognized other than those presided over by White officers of the Administration. At the same time the Administration expected chiefs and others to maintain law and order and formally listed their duties in these terms. The chiefs had therefore to extemporize and administer traditional law as best they could. Since 1929 Native Courts have been recognized and the Administration has in the main supported the decisions reached in these courts. The law as administered now is certainly not the same as it was before 1898 and the differences are not merely the substitution of 'civilized' penalties for those 'repugnant to natural justice and morality'. Nor is the law identical with English or Roman-Dutch law. The law of adultery and divorce is adapted to a situation in which bridewealth is rarely paid, wives are left deserted for years by their husbands, and the custody of children is uncertain and dependent on the agreement of the children themselves.

5. Labour migration

Labour migration began in 1898 and since then there has been a continual flow of men and women seeking work in the mining towns of Southern Rhodesia and on the railway line of Northern Rhodesia. The constant absence of men away at work leaving their wives behind has made for a preponderance of women over men in the rural area and has led to more adultery and to the emergence of pleas for divorce on ground of desertion. The increasing number of wives who accompany or follow their husbands had enlarged the social field within which the marriage relationship operates so that a quarrel between a man and his wife in town may be referred for resolution to kinsmen many hundreds of miles away in the village. Men marry fresh wives in the towns and bring them home years later with many children. Two people living in villages may trace their relationship to each other through some half-forgotten migrant in the towns.

In 'the time of peace' marriage was a process by which an established social structure was maintained and developed. That structure has gone and Ngoni now live in a world of larger scale and greater social mobility. Marriage has become something by which local stability of relationship is maintained despite the fluidity of society as a whole. A man moves from village to village, from

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586 attitude towards her can be tested only when, if ever, he returns to the rural area.

A man whose wife runs away and who will not return may likewise continue to hope that one day she will change her mind and return to him, and for this reason will not divorce her. Unlike a woman, a man in this condition does not jeopardize his chances by taking a fresh spouse, and therefore it is rare to find a man whose only wife is one separated from him. It will be seen from Table III that there were no men separated from all their wives included in the sample.

593 In both separation and in the procedure by which a man 'leaves his wife in disgust',[17] sexual intercourse ceases between the couple. In other respects the two procedures are quite distinct. When a man 'leaves his wife in disgust', he stops sleeping with her but he continues to treat her as his wife. She has her hut next to her co-wives, her husband sits on her verandah, and she can rely on his help in the garden and in the care of her children. If she is separated from him, she must fend for herself. Her status as wife is significant only in that she does not marry anyone else.

6. The absent husband

A man appeals to his kinsfolk for support, but they do not replace him in the marriage relationship. His wife is linked mystically to him but not to them, and the right of sexual access to her is held by him alone. It cannot be exercised on his behalf by his kinsmen. He takes the initiative in appealing to them in a marital dispute, and his agreement is necessary at each fresh stage of events. If, however, the man is not there, his kin act on his behalf as far as they are able.

593 Most adult men, at some time or other, go away to work in the towns
167 or mines. Some men take their wives with them but at any one time, as can be seen from Table IV, between a quarter and a third of all married women living in the rural area have their husbands away working either in Fort Jameson township, in the towns of Northern and Southern Rhodesia, or living permanently on the tobacco farms around Fort Jameson. When a man goes away to work, no one can tell when he will return. Some men go off and never write or come home again. Others write regularly, send home money and clothes, come home themselves for visits, and remain in close contact with those at home. Friends and relatives may give news of a long vanished migrant whom they have met in Southern Rhodesia.

For at least the first two or three years the assumption is made that a man intends to return, even if he does not write. If his wife [591] is living uxorilocally she will probably continue to do so. If she is living in her husband's village, as long as she stays there she can depend to some extent on the support of her husband's relatives, who may help her with her hut and garden, and if they are kind-hearted

[17] See above, p. 41.

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and have the money to spare, they may buy her clothes. The only ways in which she can raise money easily for herself are by brewing beer, making pots, and working on the farms. To work on a farm she must, however, remove herself from the surveillance of her husband's kin, and unless she goes to join a contingent from their village working at the farm, they may think she is running away from them to seek a lover or new husband. We have seen, however, from Table XIV that significantly more wives whose husbands are away live uxorilocally.

Many husbands write home, not only to their wives, and some remit postal orders and bank-notes. A man may get a friend who is returning from Southern Rhodesia to take home blankets and other bulky articles to be handed over to his wife. He may send presents like these direct to his wife or he may think it more prudent to send them to his father or brother and allow them to hand on to his wife as much as they think fit. The woman must then behave herself in the eyes of her affines if she wishes to receive her husband's presents. The acceptance of these gifts is taken as proof that the woman is still dependent on her husband however long he stays away. If the woman applies to the court for a divorce on the ground of desertion, the presents will be cited by her husband's kinsfolk as evidence that there is no intention on his part to desert. Gluckman reports from the Lozi that even if a man sends goods, after a statutory period the court will hold that 'a woman marries a man and not a blanket', that is, the husband must return to look after and sleep with his wife as well as send clothes to her. This argument is not used among the Ngoni. A woman who complains that she is not satisfied with marriage under these conditions is told to write to her absent husband and ask him for the fare to join him in Southern Rhodesia.

Case history 10

Saul was working in Nyasaland. He sent home to his wife 7*s*. 6*d*. for clothes. Later she wrote to him saying she wanted him to return. He sent her 15*s*., being 5*s*. for clothes and 10*s*. bus fare so that she could join him. She did not go and later went to the court complaining she had been deserted. Her husband's relatives argued, to the satisfaction of the court, that as her husband had sent her these gifts he was still taking care of her. The court dismissed her plea as she had refused to go to Nyasaland when the fare had been sent.

The husband's relatives try to watch carefully the movements of the woman so that they may prevent or at least report any adultery on her part. If they are in touch with the husband, they write to him should they suspect infidelity. Sometimes the husband ignores their letter, sometimes he gives them instructions how they should proceed in the matter, and sometimes he returns to the village to see for himself what is going on. He arrives without warning and hopes to catch his wife in the act. If all is well and he is satisfied that his wife has been faithful he usually goes back to work again.

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593 167 Some men when they decide to return home from work in the normal course of events do not let their relatives know that they will be arriving. There are a variety of reasons for this, one being that the mystical hazards of the journey home are increased if a man's enemies know that it is taking place. There is also sometimes the desire to check on the fidelity of a wife. A chief returning from the railway line in 1947 reached Fort Jameson and sent on ahead a man to tell the people their chief had returned. A councillor who was with him remarked 'What sort of chief is this who gives his queens time to get back to their own houses? We ought to arrive suddenly and catch them all with their lovers.'

593 167 602 The woman's kin also wish to avoid trouble in her marriage and do what they can to prevent her committing adultery if they think that her husband is still treating her well. They talk to her about her obligations to her absent husband and if they think she cannot be trusted, one of them, perhaps the woman's mother, may sleep in the hut with her to see that she does not entertain lovers there. They may warn her that if she is taken to court for adultery they will not support her.

Thus we see that there is social prescription not only of the ways in which a man and his affines should behave towards each other, but also of the ways in which his affines should behave when the man is away. Similarly a woman and her affines interact in the light of their relationship not only when her husband is present but also when he has been absent for years. As a husband can exceed his rights over his wife, so can an affine go beyond what is tolerated while trying to safeguard the interests of an absent husband. The perseverence of some brothers of absent husbands, and the limitations imposed on their actions by public opinion, are recalled by a girls' song current in 1949.

[533] I am wanting to go and sleep,
What stops me is something in the loins,
I go to the water, and the one who keeps on following comes,
He has exceeded his sibling-in-law-ship,[18]
He has dragged Eleni from the reeds.

[607] Eleni is supposed to be the wife of a labour migrant. Her husband's brother follows her to the stream, where she has gone ostensibly to draw water, as he thinks that she is really going to meet a lover. She hides in the reeds and he drags her out. Such active intervention is inappropriate and dangerous for if there is a struggle the woman is likely to claim that the man was trying to rape her. The astute brother-in-law would have waited his time until he could catch her red-handed with her lover in a village.

167 832 It is never legitimate for a woman whose husband is a labour migrant to have intercourse with another man. People regret that

[193] [18] *Ulamu*, the abstract noun formed from *mulamu*, sibling-in-law.

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People regret that
a faithful woman whose husband stays away many years does not bear children, but they do not condone infidelity. The prolonged absence of men which leads to this unsatisfactory situation is seen as part of the disruption of the old order by the coming of the Whites. It is they who are responsible, both for the lack of children in marriages where the woman is faithful and for the occurrence of adultery in marriages where she is not. The virtue of bearing children and the virtue of fidelity are values in conflict and the Ngoni see only one solution, the ending of labour migration. This conflict appears with particular force when a man goes away leaving his wife pregnant. This action is in itself hazardous, for the man will not be there at the time of birth to confess his adultery, yet men do go away knowing their wives are pregnant. If a live child is born, it must be protected by the rite of 'taking up the child'.[19] If this is neglected the child may die, and it is in the interests therefore of the man's relatives as well as the woman's that it should be performed. The only consistent line of action is to ensure that the medicines which can be used as a substitute for the rite are available to the woman. These medicines are expensive, and relatives may be reluctant to find the money for them, particularly as the whole procedure is under the ban of the missions. The only other solution is for the woman to take a lover with whom she performs the rite. If they are caught, the excuse that they were sleeping together merely for 'taking up the child' is not accepted. Here the same conflict and the same attitude are seen as when a woman has an impotent husband.[20] To achieve a desirable end the woman must commit adultery; but woe betide her if she is caught in the act.

There is an important difference between the way in which the kinsfolk act at the level of village discussion and their behaviour later when matters are referred to the court. In the village they are fairly free to act without reference to the absent husband. They can give advice and can attempt to enforce mutually agreed damage payments of chicken, acting in the light of their opinion of what is in their own interest and in the general interest of their kinsman. They cannot deal in this way with divorce or with large damages for adultery. These matters must be referred to the court and here much more deliberate attention is paid to the wishes of the absent man. If a case of adultery is brought by the man's kin, the court enquires about the wishes of the husband in the matter. The husband's kin must produce a letter from him authorizing them to proceed against his wife and he must say in the letter whether he wishes to divorce her or merely to claim damages for adultery. The case is usually adjourned for three to six months while this is done. A woman who pleads for divorce on the ground of her husband's desertion is similarly told to write to him informing him

[19] See above, pp. 45f.
[20] See above, p. 34.

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

607 that she intends to seek divorce if he does not reply. If the address
593 of the migrant labourer is unknown to his relatives or to his wife,
593 the court endeavours to trace him through the Administration.
684 Thus the husband's kin usually try to prove in court that the
692 woman is seeking divorce because she has another husband in view, and sometimes imply that she has been committing adultery with him. I heard one man oppose the plea for divorce presented by the wife of an absent kinsman by saying that he was sure the woman had been committing adultery but that he had been unable to catch her in the act. Let the court postpone the case until he had good evidence and then he would agree to the plea. The husband's relatives are more certain of £3 damages if they can prove adultery, and the money is paid to them on behalf of the absent man. For her part the woman usually denies that she has any thought of remarriage. She arrives in court in her oldest and shabbiest clothes, to demonstrate both her husband's failure to clothe her and her own lack of desire to attract other men.

593 The general principle that no court action involving the husband's
684 sexual rights can be taken without his consent applies even to cases of incest. It may be well known that a woman is living incestuously with, say, her father, but the husband's relatives cannot take her to court without the permission of the husband. Many husbands, on hearing from their relatives that their wives are committing adultery or are pregnant by other men, prefer to let the matter stand over until their return to the village which may be several years hence. Thus one woman may have been sleeping with her father for many years, and another have a growing brood of adulterine children, before at last they are brought to court by their returned husbands.

578 Even when a man and his wife are both living in the towns, their
602 relatives may be called upon to settle differences between them. In one instance that came to my notice, a man and his wife both
[845] from the same village were living together in Lusaka. The woman
[787] had a still-birth and her husband went to a diviner to discover who
[754] was responsible for this. He was told by the diviner that his wife had been bewitched by his father's brother's son, who was also in Lusaka. The man wrote home to the village to complain. A meeting was held attended by important people in the village, and it was decided to write back and tell the two men that they must not be so foolish as to quarrel in this way. Not all men who go
167 away remain in such close touch with the village but there is a great
602 deal of correspondence back and forth, and this is augmented by the news brought by friends who come home. The intervention in a marital quarrel in the towns is one aspect of the way in which the field of social relations held in common by rural villagers stretches out to include kinsmen and former neighbours working many hundreds of miles away. Men who fall sick in Southern Rhodesia are fetched and escorted home, fathers go on holiday to visit their

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migrant sons, and villagers mourn for a dead kinsman of whose death in the towns they have just heard.

Although it is possible for a couple to keep in contact with their rural kin if they are diligent in writing, the amount of interaction between the couple and their kin is much less under these conditions than when they are living in the village. Even when only the man is away and his wife is living at home, the ties linking relatives by marriage cannot in general be as strong as when the individual through whom those ties pass is present in face-to-face contact with his affines. None of the ceremonies of marriage, except the obtaining of a marriage certificate, can be performed if the man is away from the village and they must wait until he returns. Ngoni say 'You cannot send beer on a lorry'. When the man returns for a rest his wife's parents sometimes seize the opportunity to send him beer, but if he has been away a long time, they may be reluctant to brew for a man they do not know very well and whose character may have changed in the treacherous environment of the towns. Even if the man is working as near as Fort Jameson township, he may have difficulty in getting away from his job just at the time his parents-in-law want him at home.

Some men marry women they meet in the towns. Often an unmarried man leaves the village and a year or so later the news comes that he now has a wife. If the woman is from another tribe it is unlikely that the relatives at home will be told her name, and if the children of the marriage remain in Southern Rhodesia, they too will be unknown at home in the village. Sometimes, however, a man may marry a woman who comes from his own neighbourhood who has been visiting relatives in Southern Rhodesia or who has been divorced from another labour migrant. There is then more chance that the rural kin will be made aware of the marriage, and the children born to the couple may be sent home to one or other grandparent. If and when the man brings his bride back to the village, he goes to her village to give her relatives formal notification of what has happened, how he was in Southern Rhodesia and saw her and how they married there. Men sometimes offer the legalization payment for wives married in Southern Rhodesia when they return home. If the woman's relatives see that the man is treating his wife well, that she is well clothed and that the man is not running after other women, they may accept the marriage and brew beer for the man. If they do not approve of him there is little direct action they can take but they may try to start a quarrel sooner or later.

7. Child's parents-in-law

On either side of the married couple are their kin groups, and there is a special term to express the relationship between the parents of one spouse and the parents of the other. This relationship is thought of as one of limited co-operation. The two pairs of

5:Allan C-5 (1941) 1949 FR5 Ngoni FR5 ●
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PART IV

THE RESETTLEMENT OF NATIVE POPULATIONS IN NORTHERN RHODESIA

§ 1. *The Problem and its Origin*

IN Northern Rhodesia and doubtless over a much greater part of Africa before the coming of the Europeans, the population-land pattern was a changing, kaleidoscopic picture. If an area became overcrowded more land was available, or it could be taken from a neighbouring people. A rough balance between land and population was maintained by means of migration, inter-tribal wars, periodic famine and disease.

With the coming of the European the kaleidoscopic picture was arrested, producing what we may call the primary population-land pattern. This was later modified, by alienation and reservation of land and by the movement of peoples into Native reserves, to produce a secondary pattern. New economic factors have so far modified this secondary pattern only to a minor extent, but it may be expected that they will tend to do so increasingly in the future.

The secondary population-land pattern was brought about mainly by the movement of the African population into Native reserves. As a result of this movement large areas of Crown Land were left practically uninhabited, and a number of factors operating together brought about mal-distribution and congestion of populations within the reserves themselves.

So far the problem has been studied in detail only in the Fort Jameson and Petauke Districts of the Eastern Province, the Mkushi District of the Central Province and the Ndola District of the Western Province, and it is within these districts that resettlement work—other than the 'Chitemene Control' scheme—has been carried out. The four districts are contiguous and the total area within them to which this discussion refers is about 33,800 square miles (4,000 square miles more than the whole land area of Scotland but only about one-ninth of the area of Northern Rhodesia) with a total population, in round figures, of 290,000 (about one-sixth of the total populaton of the Territory).

The primary population-land pattern was such that the ten tribes living within this area had ample or much more than ample land, except to a minor extent in the Fort Jameson District where the incursion of the immigrant Ngoni in the later 19th century had created a potential congestion problem. Under former conditions this problem would doubtless have resolved itself as it arose by migration of the Chewa to north and west, under pressure from the Ngoni, but once the kaleidoscopic pattern was arrested no a[illegible]

[p. 71]

9: Read E-5 (1935) 1936 FR5 Ngoni FR5

do the same. And in each area the versions as recited convince the people that their *inkosi* is supreme. The main purpose of the tradition was to show that there cannot be more than one rightful *inkosi* of the Ngoni. The present day interpretations serve the same purpose and exalt one of the two claimants at the expense of the other.

The traditions centring round the person of Zwangendaba are numerous. Some of these are concerned to show that he was an important chief in the south under Zwidi, and that the Jere clan of which he was head was a leading one. Other accounts do not disguise that he was an upstart, but lay stress on his success as leader of the Ngoni in their trek north. All these traditions about Zwangendaba are told as documentation for the importance of the *inkosi*, and centre round the Ngoni belief that their state must have one head in whom authority is centralized. It is easy to see that the circumstances under which the Ngoni state was created demanded a strong autocratic ruler. The traditions gathered round this first ruler of their state now serve to perpetuate the beliefs about the office of Paramount Chief, beliefs which modern ideas and western education have hardly modified at all.

Ngoni history divides into three periods, and the traditions in each period, as they are told, form the people's thinking about that section of their past. The traditions of the earliest period, that is, of their life in the south and their trek north, are the charter for their pride as a distinctive people. The traditions of the middle period, of their conquests and settlements, document their superiority over the surrounding peoples. The traditions of the last period, that of the arrival of the European, determine their attitude towards white contact. Their interpretation of their history, therefore, reflected in the established legends and tradition, influences profoundly their thinking about themselves, about their neighbours, and about the Europeans.

VI. Prelude to White Contact. This second period of Ngoni history includes the events from the crossing of the Zambezi to the coming of the Europeans, roughly the years 1835–1885. During these fifty years the original Ngoni horde, with additions to it from the tribes south of the Zambezi, explored the country in which they were finally to settle, went farther north into Tanganyika, and finally

9: Read E-5 (1935) 1936 FR5 Ngoni FR5
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returned between the years 1855–1865, to settle in their present habitat. The earlier part of the period was one of exploring and of conquest. The later part was the time of settlement and consolidation, during which the Ngoni 'states' emerged in the form in which they were found, when the Europeans first arrived.

The Ngoni in Mpezeni's country, when speaking of this time, call it *chamtendere* (the time of peace). Any white travellers' tales referring to these years lay stress on the constant raids carried out by the Ngoni, the fierceness of their warriors, and their ravaging of the countryside for slaves and cattle. It was obviously a time of frequent wars. Why then do the Ngoni call it a time of peace? I have asked this question of many men of rank and standing and they give one invariable reply, 'We call it *chamtendere* because the *Azungu* (Europeans) were not there to trouble us'. This statement is in effect the key to Ngoni thinking about the days of pre-white contact, and also about the advent of the Europeans. The way in which they speak of *chamtendere* is itself significant. I first heard it during a long recital of Ngoni history, and stopped the narrator to ask the meaning of the word. There was instantly an embarrassed silence and self-conscious grins in the group. The word had evidently slipped out unawares, for later on they told me that it was a word they only used among themselves. Having once been used, however, it appeared frequently in conversations with me, and proved a useful starting-point for accounts of the organization of their own state and the effects on it of the European advent. 'Ah, *chamtendere*', they say, with a deep sigh, 'then we were people'. It proved also to be a pass-word to their confidence, for whenever I mentioned *chamtendere* to a village headman, he and his notables nudged each other, and laughed and said, 'She can know about us'. When pressed to be more specific about this 'troubling' by the *Azungu* they spoke of taxes, of the ban upon raiding and warfare, of young men being called away to work, of their land being taken for European farms. These restrictions and disabilities caused by white contact they regarded as warfare, that is, as troubled times, because the Europeans forcibly prevented them from doing as they liked, just as they had done in their day to the surrounding tribes. The conquered tribes, on the other hand, naturally hailed the advent of the Europeans as a time of peace and security. Therein lies the chief

9: Read E-5 (1935) 1936 FR5 Ngoni FR5

in the villages to-day, they do it by going over and over the events of those fateful years 1885–1898, from the first arrival of Weise up to the Ngoni war, in the vain hope of finding a satisfactory explanation of the connexion between Weise, the British South Africa Company, the North Charterland Company, and the British Crown. They give correct and precise details of the various Europeans who came to old Mpezeni's kraal seeking concessions, and finding the old chief adamant about signing away any concessions. 'Weise was his friend. Then came Weise's brother. He began to take money for our huts. Then Singu (Mpezeni's heir) became angry. Then they said, "We are Charterland" and Mpezeni refused: "I have given no promise to Charterland." Then came the *Azungu* war.'

I have given the foregoing events in detail because they are facts of history both to the Ngoni and the British, and necessary for understanding the present attitude of the Ngoni to white people. The Ngoni have given me their version again and again, always the same in substance, and always with the same emphasis, first on the refusal of Sir Harry Johnston and the British South Africa Company to recognize Mpezeni as the rightful chief in the land, and secondly on the treachery of Weise which delivered them into the hands of the North Charterland Company. Nor was the defeat in war their final humiliation. Singu, Mpezeni's heir, was taken and shot together with his wives; half the cattle of the Ngoni were taken as 'rightful loot'; and the North Charterland Company began assigning farms to Europeans in their tract. Six years later old Mpezeni died, leaving his grandson, a comparatively young boy, as his successor. On the old *indumas* and other sons of old Mpezeni fell the burden of guiding the young *inkosi* and carrying on the political and legal machinery subject to European administration.[1] At the same time fundamental economic changes were taking place. Settlers were arriving to acquire land and demand labour. The country was gradually parcelled out into European farms and native reserves, not without prolonged ill-feeling on both sides.[2] With the opportunity to work for wages came a demand for taxes to cover the costs of administration, and this demand in its turn made many men go out of the territory in search of better paid work in Southern Rhodesia and the Union.

[1] Under British South Africa Company till 1924.

[2] See North Charterland Inquiry.

10: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1959
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Lupa goldfields and Dar-es-Salaam. Nowadays almost everyone goes by lorry, but now as then a man has to go a long way before he can arrive at an island of friends in one of the urban centres. This means that, for the Ngoni, emigration is a definite event, and does not occur as a result of a gradual drifting farther and farther away from the tribal area. Lorries run from Fort Jameson to Lusaka and to Lilongwe, and from Missale to Mtoko in Southern Rhodesia. There is also a lorry service from Lundazi to Fort Jameson, but this does not lead anywhere else, and is not used by Mpezeni's people except locally. Lusaka is on a railway line, Lilongwe is connected by bus and train to Blantyre, while Mtoko is on the way to Salisbury. It is these lorry routes which now provide the links with the outside world, and along which people and goods travel, the people in both directions, and the goods, apart from tobacco, mainly inwards. Use of these routes is controlled by the chiefs, the Administration, by economic factors, and by the weather. This last has been less important of late, and the roads are seldom impassable for more than a week at a time, however heavy the rains. In order to travel on the lorries from Fort Jameson a man must have a ticket, which costs £1 for the journey to Lusaka, and less for the trip to Lilongwe. The lorry service from Missale to Mtoko is free.

The Administration exercise control by insisting that no man shall leave the Territory of Northern Rhodesia unless he is in possession of an identification certificate endorsed by the Administration permitting him to do so. In practice, such endorsements are not usually made unless the man can produce written permission from the chief that he is free to go. This working arrangement is intended to ensure that men do not flee the country when there are cases pending against them, and to prevent unjustifiable desertion of wives and children. In fact men are sometimes given permission to go while cases in which they are involved are still unheard.

The emigration of women and children is further controlled in that there is a law[1] forbidding a woman to leave the tribal area except in the company of her husband, or with a pass to leave from the Native Authority. Sucking children are allowed to accompany their mothers, but other children under the age of sixteen are not allowed to leave the province without permission of the Native Authority,[2] while boys

[1] Ngoni Native Authority Order 24.

[2] Ngoni N. A. Order 39. The child must be either accompanied by its parents or else accompanied by a guardian on the way to join its parents.

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Mpezeni

over sixteen are not allowed to leave without a pass from their Native Authority until they have paid tax for one year at home.[1] These laws are quite energetically enforced, principally by the placing of Native Authority police at strategic points along the lorry routes. These police inspect the passes of all passengers on the lorries, and bring offenders before the nearest Native Court.

The devices adopted to evade these restrictions are much as one might expect. The drivers of the lorries may be won over, particularly by women. A woman may get a lorry driver to say that she is his wife, or even enter into a temporary marriage with him, if she wishes to run away without a ticket. Some people walk to the far side of the police point and then attempt to get on the lorry after the search has been completed. A woman who has a ticket but no pass may pose as the wife of some unaccompanied male passenger.

The motives for leaving the area are many. Most of the men go to look for work, although a few go away to visit their urban relatives and friends for a holiday. Others go to buy goods that may be unobtainable locally for the time being, such as tools or window-panes, or which they think they can get more cheaply elsewhere, such as bicycles. Many of the women go to join their husbands, but some are fleeing from them, or have grown tired of living at home married to men who live permanently in Southern Rhodesia, and are out to try their luck in the towns.

Whereas the outgoing lorries are comparatively empty of goods, the returning passengers are well loaded with belongings. The fares are higher, and the Mtoko–Missale service is not free on the northward trip. One of the most important commodities brought in along these routes is the mail. Men working in Southern Rhodesia and elsewhere write home to keep their wives and brothers informed of their whereabouts, and send postal orders to enable their families to buy clothes.

This movement to and from the outside world must be seen in its relationship to the opportunities that exist for employment within the District on the tobacco farms.

Farm Labour

No village in either of the reserves occupied by the Ngoni is more than 12 miles from a farm. This means that it is possible for a man to work as a labourer on a farm and yet retain a large number of his contacts with his village and chief. In particular, his wife and children

[1] Ngoni N. A. Order 37.

10: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1959
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Labour Ordinances, he can only do so through the District Commissioner's court at Fort Jameson, which may take up more of his time than he thinks the matter worth. In consequence, few actions are brought by farmers against their African labourers and if a man breaks his contract and deserts, no action may be taken against him.

It is not surprising that the efficiency of labour operating under these conditions is low, and that the wages are also low. These two conditions react on one another, and it is misleading to regard the low wages as the only cause of the inefficiency, or the inefficiency as the only cause of the low wages. The practical effect is that men who wish to earn more money than they can get as labourers on the farms at 14*s.* a month with food go away to Southern Rhodesia. It must be observed, however, that men started going to Southern Rhodesia long before the tobacco farms were opened up to their present extent.

Labour Migration

Prior to the European conquest, the only men who had worked for Whites were those employed as carriers by the handful of travellers who passed through the country before 1896, and as carriers and labourers by the North Charterland Exploration Company from 1896 onwards. But immediately after the end of the fighting in 1898, recruiting started among the Ngoni for police work in Southern Rhodesia, and there has been a continual flow of labour migrants south ever since.

There have been considerable fluctuations in the number of men going south since that time, particularly during the two world wars, when the military requirements of the Territory exercised a greater claim. The latest figures for the Eastern Province as a whole show that, in 1946, 23 per cent. of the taxable males registered in the province were absent from the province. Another 17½ per cent. were at work within the province.[1] In May 1947, in two Ngoni counties with a combined total of 1,739 registered taxable males, it was found that 30 per cent. of them were at work in the Eastern Province and a further 42 per cent. were away elsewhere, a total of 72 per cent. away from their villages. Half of those living outside the Eastern Province were classified as 'lost', in that their present whereabouts were unknown to the people at home.[2] These figures exclude all men who have been 'lost' for more than five years.

[1] Labour Department, *Annual Report*, 1946, p. 12.

[2] These figures were given me by the District Commissioner, Fort Jameson.

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484 Looked at from the point of view of the individual, we find that all
● 167 adult men have at some time or other been away to work, and that the majority have been to Southern Rhodesia once or twice.

Conclusion

466 In their lives on the farms and in Fort Jameson, Ngoni mix with men from other tribes, and their position is largely subsumed under the conditions common to all African labourers on all European-controlled farms. The Administration does not support the Ngoni more [648] than the Cewa, or one chief more than another. As the content of the relationship becomes more and more related to the world-wide polity and economy, so the nature of the relationship becomes common to a wider group. Ngoni living in Fort Jameson Compound live lives that are closer to the lives led by other tribes in compounds in other towns than they are to those led in the villages 5 miles away.
464 The phenomenon of labour migration greatly affects Ngoni social
[167] structure, but is not a distinctively Ngoni institution in the same way as the Ngoni village is distinctively Ngoni. When Ngoni ex-
[729] soldiers complain that when they were recruited they were promised that after the war they would get good jobs, and now find they do not get them, their sentiments derive more from their status as ex-soldiers, which they share with some millions of others, than they do from their status as Ngoni.

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TENTATIVE CHRONOLOGY OF THE NGONI, GENEALOGY OF THEIR CHIEFS, AND NOTES.

By D. Gordon Lancaster.

NOTE OF INTRODUCTION.

These tentative notes relating to the Ngoni are the result of many years of research amongst the natives in the Eastern Province of N. Rhodesia, with whom I have been in constant contact, firstly as a Government official and secondly as a friend. I have received the greatest assistance and courtesy from the Paramount Chief, Mpezeni Jere II, and I am further indebted to A. K. Jere, a son of old Chief Kapatamoyo Jere, without whose knowledge, assistance and tactful handling of the old indunas these notes and genealogy would never have been completed.

NOTES.

(1) Zongendaba (Zwangendaba, Uzwangendaba) Kumalo, son of Hlatshwayo of the Ngoni tribe and his wife, Mqamache Nzima, was born near St. Lucia Bay in 1780 circa.

Zongendaba, when a young man, appears to have shown great promise as a military leader. Hlatshwayo, his father, and Ziwide, uncle of his wife, Loziwawa Nqumayo, appear to have been close neighbours and friends, and with other local clans for some time resisted Tshaka. The date of Hlatshwayo's death is not known, but Zongendaba broke away from the district or tribal area with a large following, after the second attack by Tshaka on the Ndwandwe Tribe, whom the Ngoni were assisting. Mzilikazi, a younger member of the Kumalo, after this defeat served Tshaka as an Induna[1] for approximately two years, during which time his bravery and leadership, under the eye of Tshaka, brought him promotion. Zongendaba and Gwaza Tole broke away with a following in the year 1823; Mzilikazi followed towards the end of the year 1825.

In the same year, 1825, Soshangane, known as Manukuza, son of Sigode and a cousin of Zongendaba's wives, Loziwawa and Sosera, broke away with a following of Ama-Ndwandwe and entered into Tongaland, Portuguese East Africa, through Swaziland. It is stated by native authorities that Zongendaba had with him girls and young women but no matrons, that they were few in number, that the Ama-Swazi were raided for cattle and suitable young girls, and that these were taken along with them on their northern migration through Tongaland and Lourenco Marques.

It is definitely stated that the following wives accompanied Zongendaba from their tribal area: Loziwawa and Sosera. These women were daughters of Nombhengula, brother of Ziwide and son of Langa Vimba. Nombhengula was a brother of Ziwide and not as is sometimes stated a son.

[1] [induna = military leader -- Analyst]

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159 In 1828 Zongendaba, who had met with Mzilikazi near the border of Portuguese
●167 East Africa, fought him over a petty disagreement, which it is alleged was a dog fight.
173 Mzilikazi beat Zongendaba, who moved on into Portuguese East Africa between the
578 Limpopo and the Sabi Rivers and united himself with Mazukusa; this was the year of
643 Tshaka's assassination. In 1831 we find Manukusa and Zongendaba midway between
648 the Limpopo and Zambesi Rivers.

In the year 1833, in which Manukusa attacked the Portuguese and drove them out of Espirito Santo (Lourenco Marques), Manukusa and Zongendaba disagreed and a fight took place, after which Zongendaba and his following, accompanied by Mhlabawadabuka, a brother of Manukusa, continued the migration north.

In the following year, 1834, on the border of what is now S. Rhodesia, Zongendaba broke with Mhlabawadabuka and proceeded in a north-westerly direction, where at the Ingwe-Kwizi River he met the Ba-Lozi or Ba-Nyai, whom he destroyed; their chief, Mambo, was killed, some thirty miles from the battlefield at Intaba-Zi-Ka-Mambo.
[805] In November of the year 1835, at the time of an eclipse, a passage was found across the Ukwembe River (Zambesi) at Manyerere on the south bank, nearly opposite Zumbo on the north bank in Portuguese East Africa. At the crossing a dispute arose between Zongendaba and an induna, Ngabi Maseko, who with a small following remained on the south bank and, it is stated, crossed over the following year near Tete.

Zongendaba, after crossing, halted for a period whilst his impis looted the surrounding country; his camp was built at Mkoko. About 1839 a movement in an easterly direction
[645] was made, it is said, by Gwaza Tole, who was a brother-in-law to Zongendaba and his
[684] Chief Councillor, because, acting on Zongendaba's instructions, he had put to death one of Zongendaba's wives for infidelity; Zongendaba followed. The direction was changed, after passing to the west of the present Fort Jameson, to a more northerly one passing the head-waters of the Bua River en route.

In 1840 at Chulu, Mbelwa or Mombera was born, son of Zongendaba by his wife Umnene. Thence on to the Rukuru Valley.

In 1842 Zongendaba arrived in the Fipa country, and the next two years were spent in raiding the surrounding country of the Sukuma and Msafwa.

159 In 1845 Zongendaba died. It is stated that he had never seen or been seen by a
173 European, that he was fierce with his soldiers and his wives who, on the least excuse, he put
643 to death, that he was very kind and considerate to his captives, and that he listened to two men only, Gwaza Tole and Njekwane. He died at Mapupu in the Fipa country
[766] and was buried in a black ox skin near the Nyinaluzi River. On his death bed he gave
[428] his assegai to his eldest son and heir (by his Great Wife, Sosera), Ntutu Mpezeni, who was then in his twentieth year.

159 (2) Loziwawa Nqumayo was the wife of Zongendaba—"The Great Wife, Inkosikazi".
173 She was born before the accession of Tshaka, about the year 1800, in the tribal area near
562 St. Lucia Bay. She was Zongendaba's "great chosen wife" and died during the great

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159 173 [567] Zimakazi Lavu Ngoma of the Ansenga tribe worked for Sosera when he was a youth. Zimakazi was caught and made a slave in 1835, the year of the crossing. Ngungu Ngoma, his son, has often heard this from his father and the chieftainess, Sosera. Zimakazi died a few years before his mistress. His son, Ngungu Ngoma, is in the N. Rhodesia Government Service and is about fifty years of age.

[562] [593] (3) Chibenya Mkhalapi. This was the first wife of importance of Zongendaba, the *ikohlwa* wife. When Zongendaba's mother, Mquamache Nzima, died, Chibenya was taken out of the chief's house and put in his mother's place and called "the Great Mother." This is a well-known custom amongst the Ngoni. The date of her death and place of burial are not known by the present day chiefs. It is stated by some of the indunas that she accompanied Zongendaba north and crossed the Zambesi in 1835, by others that she was the mother of Mtwalu, but this appears doubtful.

[645] [701] (4) Gwaza Tole. Brother-in-law of Zongendaba; Chief Councillor and one of the great indunas. Tribe, Ngoni; regiment, Machaya Imiti. Father, Nzyekezera (Njekerezera); mother and wife, not known; sons, Masakambewa and Chitete.

[554] Zongendaba had married one of Gwaza's sisters. He appears to have been an elderly and very wise councillor, in whom the chief placed great trust and whose advice the indunas and captains readily accepted. Gwaza killed one of Zongendaba's wives on his

[578] instructions, possibly his own sister. This led to ill feeling, and it is stated that Gwaza and certain others of his following kept apart from the chief after this affair. He died at Fipa and was buried there in 1846.

159 173 (5) Zulu Gama. Father, Njeru; mother, not known; wife, Nzyalisa.

Zongendaba married a sister of Zulu Gama (possibly Mambose Gama) before the Zambesi crossing. They had no issue.

167 On the upward trek after crossing the Zambesi River to the Fipa country, Zulu Gama left his wife, Nzyalisa, at a village near Kasitu; she had a son by him named Paulos Gama, to whom Zulu Gama left villages at Luanjazi near Mzimba.

[578] After Zongendaba's death, Zulu Gama and a following broke away, and were followed by the adherents of Mombera. A fight took place near what is now Old Langenburg, and Mombera's people were scattered by this wily old induna. He crossed the Shire River in 1868. He entered Songea and died there later. Chief Ngabi Maseko was killed by

[554] Zulu Gama. Zulu Gama appears to have been a general of high qualities and a sound councillor.

159 173 [701] [645] (6) Njekwane Ntilila. Father, Mphango, a brother of Hlatshwayo; mother, Manyuwasana; wife, Mtonga Jojo; sons: Kapatamoyo I., Sondwani, Hoye Chafumela, Chulu, Meno, Maswe. A cousin of Chief Zongendaba. Chief Induna of the Zimpofu regiment and Chief Induna of the Council. Died at Mpinduka Hill, Matambazi River, in the year 1868.

(7) Mgai Kumalo. Father, Hlatshwayo; mother, unknown; wife, Bichi Nkhosi. Regiment, Majokwane. Died in the Ufipa Country 1849.

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He

was a son of Zongendaba and died after Mombera. After Mombera's death he was acting chief for some years until Chimtunga was appointed.

(15) The following is a list of indunas and chiefs who crossed the Zambesi in November, 1835:—Chief Zongendaba, Chief of the Ngoni. Chief Gwaza Tole, Chief Councillor. Chief Njekwane, Chief Military Induna. Indunas: Zulu Gama, Military Adviser; Mguzulu, Induna Ziolomba Regiment; Somfula, Induna Somfula Regiment; Mgai, Induna Majekwane Regiment; Ntabeni, Induna Ziolomba Regiment. Chief Gwaza Tole was also Captain of the Machaya Imiti Regiment. Chief Njekwane was Captain of the Zimpofu Regiment. Regiments:—Majekwane, Ziolomba (black oxhide, white spot), Somfula, Machaya Imiti (red and black hide, white spots), Zimpofu. Wives of Zongendaba who crossed over:—Chibenya Mkhalapi, Great Mother; Sosera Nqumayo, Great Wife; Umnene Nzima, mother of Mombera; Nqutu Nzima, mother of Mtwalu; Mavocho Mkhalapi, mother of Mzukuzuku?; Chigomane, Nguluwe, Ndauya Mbanzima, Mambose Gama, Vuyakhazi, Mwachuma, slave wife and rain-maker? Daughters:—Lomagazi and Mphangela. Sister:—Qochiwe.

A further list of Zongendaba's wives who may or may not have crossed over:—Nthomane, Bazyamanzya, Zin-Khabi, Nquancleni, Nkhaleni, Nshanya, Mabeti.

Brothers and half-brothers of the chiefs who crossed over:—Ntabeni, Mgai, Somfula, Mabuzyubuzyu, Ngoya, Unekwane, Uhallo, Ukhungwayo, Undina, Mtiyane, Lomapela.

Chief Diviner or *Isanusi*:—Manyonkolo.

(16) Zongendaba's sons:—Ntutu Mpezeni, Mtwalu, Ndelendele, Mombera, Maulau, Mwalule, Mwamba, Makekevu Njobvu, Mperembe, Mzukuzuku (?) Kakuya, Jadose, Sikane, Chigamane, and others.

(17) Chief Mpezeni Jere's (Ntutu) wives:—Nyendeka Muzyopa, Athungwa tribe; Lupoko Phakati, mother of Tsingu Jere; Chota; Mtonga, mother of Madzimawe Jere; Mtizwa Soko, Makalanga tribe; Mawase Soko, Makalanga tribe, mother of Mgwazu Jere; Maiwape Hara, Makalanga tribe; Kukuya Twala, Swazi tribe; Ntomblyimbi, First Wife.

Eldest Son:—Tsingu Jere; married Nkuchwa. Both were shot in the Rebellion of 1898. Grandson:—Chilou Mpezeni II; married Augustina; heir, Pontilino.

(18) Ntutu Mpezeni Jere was buried near the cattle kraal in Lupoko village near Fort Young, Fort Jameson District, in 1900.

Lupoko, wife of Ntutu Mpezeni I and mother of Tsingu was buried near the cattle kraal in Lupoko village, in 1901.

Tsingu Jere was shot after court martial and buried near Chipinga old camp near Msesa Hill, 1898.

Nkuchwa, wife of Tsingu Jere, shot by Lt. Poole's troops in the Vubwi Valley; buried on the top of Nsaswe Hill, near Christie's Farm, in 1898.

Other Ngoni Regiments:—Mayunge (Ntutu Mpezeni's regiment); Machihungu, Mavimba, Mahiza, Zinyoka, Masoho, Manyisa, Zinkondo, Machona, Mahora, Manyera, Mabema, Kambayenda, Mafelakudeni, Chimalilembalemba.

/4 cont'd/

national basis to include all the adolescent males in the tribe, whatever their origin. Women were grouped into corresponding regiments. This system broke down after the first World War, when so many young men went away in the fighting. To-day the great exodus is not to war but to work, to the mines of Southern Rhodesia and elsewhere, and the incidence of labour migration is so high that it is not unknown to find a village in which there is no adult male resident. Part of the exodus is seasonal, and many men and women, as well as children, find employment on the tobacco farms of the district and in Fort Jameson Township.

II

The staple crop is maize, of which enough is grown to provide in good years for a small surplus for sale to the tobacco farms and the Administration. Tobacco is not grown by Africans for sale, except within the villages, but vegetables and a little rice and finger millet are sold to Europeans. Cattle are kept in the fly-free areas, and play an important but diminishing part in social life as the means of paying bridewealth, but the sale of cattle is not at present a regular affair. Their principal use is as a form of capital investment that can be called up to meet damages and fines awarded by the Courts.

The population of the tribe is about 60,000, the majority living in the Ngoni and Msandile Reserves, both near to Fort /5/ Jameson. The remainder live on the tobacco farms or in Fort Jameson Township. Villages vary in size from settlements of three or four huts to large clusters containing up to 500 people. The average size of a village is about thirty huts with a population of 100.

The Ngoni conquerors reckoned descent in the male line, while most of the people whom they conquered and with whom they married traced descent through the mother. To-day for practical purposes, descent is omnilateral, in that any connection through a male or female ancestor can be made use of as the occasion demands.